624 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their
175 willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols,
618 Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618-906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be
648 ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

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[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient,* 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11-12, 1944.

[p. 46a]

624 648 of sixteen. In 1916 I was present to congratulate the young T'u-ssu of the clan of Lu of Liench'eng when he assumed office after his mother had acted as regent for eight years.

The custom of entrusting the regency to the mother is an old Mongol tradition,[17] which the Ming dynasty recognized and took over. It should be noted that the Ming dynasty, though in its early years it was strong enough to conduct campaigns far afield in Mongolia, never had a firm control of the Mongolian and Inner Asian frontier as a whole. It was, therefore, well pleased when any Mongol tribes submitted of their own free will and was glad to make concessions in the way of recognizing their tribal institutions.

INVESTITURE OF THE T'U-SSU: CEREMONY DIPLOMA, AND SEAL

624 648 796 When a T'u-ssu received his Imperial appointment, he was granted a diploma and seal. Only three Mongol T'u-ssu, those of the Lu, Li, and Ch'i clans, received a seal worked in brass, because of the merits of their ancestors in defending the empire against Mongol and Tibetan inroads and rebellious Muslims. The other T'u-ssu were granted a seal worked in wood.[18] These seals, under the Manchu dynasty, were engraved with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 39).

It was the receipt of the diploma and the custody of the seal, equivalent to personal investiture by the emperor, that conferred on the T'u-ssu the power to exercise his functions. On the one hand they symbolized his subjection to the overlord state; on the other hand they symbolized the delegation, by the sovereign overlord, of the power to rule in the territory allocated to the custodian of the seal.

The receipt of the diploma and seal was, therefore, considered the most important moment in the life of the T'u-ssu, and an honor not only to him personally but to the whole clan. The receipt of the diploma and the consignment of the seal into the hands of the T'u-ssu were, therefore, the occasion for a celebration in which the whole clan joyfully took part, willingly contributing money and time in order to make possible a display of pomp and magnificence. The whole clan was in fact called into active service. Each village, according to its importance, was assessed for a contribution of a definite number of sheep, pigs, chickens, and a cow, all of which had to be delivered to the mansion of the chief. Each village was also assessed a certain amount of wheat, a fixed sum of money, and was required to make a

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[17] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 67, 68. "Widows with minor children had autocratic power over the possessions of the family until their sons had grown up and married; consequently they took the place of their husbands in all respects and enjoyed their rights."

[18] Seals of higher ranks were carved in jade, gold, silver, etc., indicating that even the highest of the Monguor T'u-ssu were regarded as relatively petty feudatories.—O. L.

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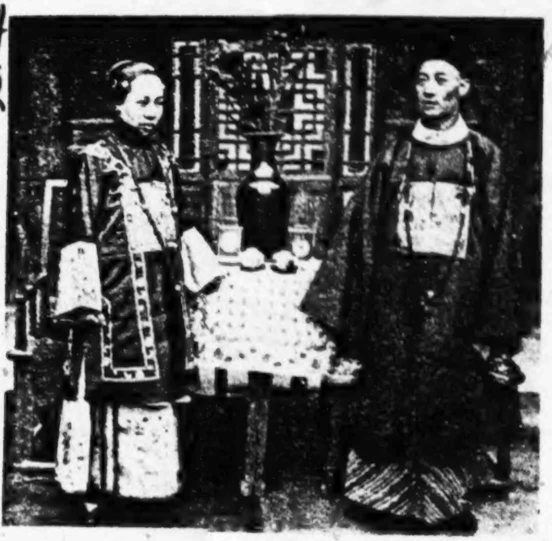

FIG. 2. Li T'u-ssu and his wife. Taken at his home in Hsining in 1914. According to Li T'u-ssu, he and his wife are wearing the costumes given to his ancestor by the Emperor Shih-Tsung (Yung Cheng period, 1723–35), of the Manchu dynasty, after the victorious campaign against Lobtsang Danzan in 1723, in which this ancestor took an active part on the side of the emperor. The costumes are reverently preserved in the family. It was customary, when a man received such a costume, to present his wife with a costume matching his in its symbols of rank and dignity.

624 contribution, on loan, of kettles, bowls, chop sticks, and all kinds of utensils.[19]

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796 A number of young folk, determined by protocol, were summoned from each village to pitch tents in the precincts of the T'u-ssu's mansion, to build small temporary kitchens, to slaughter animals, cook food, serve, grind wheat, chop wood, carry fuel and water, whitewash the whole mansion, and repair the walks and paths in the courtyards of the mansion. Everyone working was fed by his own village. The chiefs of the groups of nobles, and of the villages, were bound to supervise all the preliminary arrangements, and when the actual day of the investiture arrived, they had to attend the ceremony in full official dress and help to entertain the guests.

The Monguor troops were called out in full levy, clad in brand new uniforms which had been sewed by the village women and paid for by the villagers. In addition to neighboring T'u-ssu, the most important Chinese civil and military officials of the prefecture were invited to take part in the celebration. In the old days, before Hsining had become a separate province, a prominent official was sent from Lanchou, capital of the province

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[19] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 148, notes the requisitioning of food from the common people for the nobles in Mongolia at and after the time of Chingis Khan. The term for these requisitions is *shi'üsün* (*shüsün*), meaning "ration," "provision."

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of Kansu, to convey to the T'u-ssu the diploma and seal sent from Peking. For the use of a group of nobles and officials of the T'u-ssu administration a number of the best horses were requisitioned from the Monguor community, equipped with fine saddles and bridles, tassels of red yak hair, and necklaces of small bells. Mounted on these, and escorted by Monguor soldiers, they rode out a long distance beyond the T'u-ssu's village to meet and welcome the official bringing the diploma and seal, who ranked as a delegate from the government at Peking.

At the gate of the T'u-ssu's village or little town a procession was formed. The diploma and seal were displayed on a large silver dish and carried in majesty in a sedan chair, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, standard bearers, and men setting off fire crackers, to the mansion of the T'u-ssu. On the raised platform or porch at the entrance to his mansion the T'u-ssu, surrounded by his oldest nobles, the most distinguished commoners, and all the important guests, knelt to receive the precious diploma and seal presented to him by the delegate. At the command of the master of ceremonies, he clasped his hands and bowed nine times. Kneeling and bowing nine times, the forehead touching the ground each time, is regarded as the homage (*homagium*) or act of fealty of the vassal to his lord.[20]

The newly-invested T'u-ssu then accepted the congratulations of those present and went to the temple of his ancestors, followed by the members of the clan who, ranged in rows according to precedence by generation, joined him in venerating the ancestors, burning incense, kneeling, and bowing, all at the commands of the master of ceremonies. In this way the happy event was announced to the ancestors.

All then went immediately to the other temple within the mansion where the guardian deity (a lamaistic deity) is honored. Again incense was burned and the other ceremonies were performed by the whole group to invoke the protection and blessings of the deity. All then returned to the mansion, in order to take part in the official reception and the presentation of the guests. Each guest offered his congratulations and presented his gifts, consisting usually of inscriptions written by outstanding Chinese calligraphers on silk or satin scrolls, paintings on silk by Chinese artists, or, in recent times, the "western innovation" of small silver shields with engraved inscriptions. The inscriptions convey congratulations, good wishes, or record a commemoration of the happy event.

The nobles of the clan then made their submission to the T'u-ssu, kneeling and bowing nine times, forehead to the ground, at the command of the master of ceremonies, and offering congratulatory scrolls and a sum

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[20] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 130, describes the "act of submission" of a vassal in the Mongol empire founded by Chingis Khan in comparable terms, and notes that in feudal Russia, as among the Mongols (and, he might have added, among the Chinese), the kneeling vassal was required to bow until his forehead touched the ground.

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of money fixed by old tradition. Following them the delegates of each village, one after the other, and the officials of the T'u-ssu's own administration went through the same ceremony. If the mother of the T'u-ssu was still alive, she also received scrolls and a gift of money from each group.

During this long ceremony the musicians played and firecrackers were set off. A banquet then began, following the Chinese protocol with presentation of cups and chopsticks to the guests. During the banquet a Chinese theatrical troupe played selected acts from traditional Chinese plays or operas; it was a special courtesy to ask a guest to select something from the repertory. Songs were also sung—usually Tibetan, not Monguor songs—by the best Monguor singers. Banquets were held in the afternoon for three or four days running, attended by three or four hundred guests. These banquets were preceded in the morning by the traditional Mongol sports of horse racing and wrestling.

When, at the end of the celebrations, the delegate who brought the diploma and seal returned to Lanchou or to Peking, he was presented with a couple of fine mules and one of the best and fastest horses in the country, together with a substantial gift of money. His attendants were also given presents according to their rank. These presents were called "The money of the sweat of the horses." [21]

The investiture and festival were an expensive burden on the whole clan and on the T'u-ssu personally. As an example, in the small clan of Chao, consisting of only 140 families, most of them poor, the young man who succeeded to the title of T'u-ssu inherited from his father, an opium addict and gambler, only a burden of insoluble debts, in addition to the old tradition of a glorious past. The funds of the family being depleted, and the subjects not being able to afford the expenses of the investiture, the young heir lost his appointment and his privileges, and his people became ordinary Chinese subjects, bound thenceforth to pay their taxes directly to the Chinese administration. But since in China it is always possible to reach a compromise, the young T'u-ssu, though not invested with official rank, was allowed to collect the taxes from his former subjects on behalf of the Chinese administration, and thus he was still able to make a living.

Throughout the Orient the seal is regarded with a special veneration. It may indeed be said to be the subject of a special cult. An emperor who lost his seal would certainly lose his empire. The loss of the imperial seal has always been considered by the Chinese

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[21] To put the servants of the Son of Heaven to trouble was to "cause the horses to sweat." Thus Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 26, notes that, in an inscription, an ancestor is praised because he advised his Uighur ruler to submit to Chingis: ". . . by submitting gracefully without causing the men of the Suu-tu ("fortunate") Chinggis qaγan to suffer and without causing his geldings to sweat. . . . "—O. L.

624 •648 796 historians as a sign that "heaven" removes its mandate from the emperor. When the imperial seal of the T'ang was lost and came into the hands of the King of Chin in 936, the fact was thus explained. In China, under the old order, the seals of officials were always entrusted to their wives, who kept them with their jewelry and asked from their husbands a small sum each time that the seal was taken out to be stamped on an official document. The accumulation of these small sums constituted the savings of the wives of officials. The Monguors took over this custom from the Chinese.

In 1908, three years before the end of the Manchu empire, the T'u-ssu of the Li clan (of Shat'o origin) lost two thousand dollars at gambling. Having no money to pay his debt, harassed day and night by his creditors, he placed his seal of office in their hands as security. This T'u-ssu was the son of the deceased first wife of his father. He had a half-brother whose mother was the second wife of the previous T'u-ssu. This woman paid the gambling debt and thus got possession of the seal, charging a small sum every time that she produced it for the stamping of a document. When she died, her son got possession of the seal, and used it as authority to collect the regular traditional contributions that are expected from the subjects of the clan to pay for the funeral of the wife of a T'u-ssu. By doing this he strengthened his position, because in China, according to classical principles, the person who conducts the funeral is considered to be the lawful heir. Having in this way created the precedent of actually exercising a degree of authority over the subjects of the clan, and having the seal in his possession, it was his intention to make an accusation against his half-brother, on the grounds of misconduct, and to have himself installed as T'u-ssu.

To forestall this move, the gambling T'u-ssu called together the elders of the clan, both noble and non-noble, and also invited three neighboring T'u-ssu to arbitrate the quarrel and get him out of his appalling situation. The meetings went on for many days. The T'u-ssu was bitterly reproached, humiliated, and dressed down. He had to ask pardon for having transgressed the limits of official convention, thus dishonoring his ancestors and his clan. All this time his half-brother, fortified by actual possession of the seal, stoutly defended his right to become T'u-ssu.

The meeting finally came to the decision that the half-brother should give back the seal to the senior brother, but that in compensation he should be allowed to collect the taxes from four villages subject to his brother, and that his descendants should enjoy this privilege in perpetuity. This drastic solution is to be explained only by the old Oriental belief that the man who is in possession of the seal comes into possession also of the powers, rights, and privileges invested in the seal.

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The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

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As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

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[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

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175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side, between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

624 The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the
175 Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign
in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese
●648 officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects.
Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
175 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great
648 insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
648 of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his
173 subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on
624 his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
648 provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
624 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor
701 services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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651 648 624 701 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624 In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

651 648 624 posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

648 624 The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

648 624 431 439 Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

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[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

648 624 435 431 trading and making a little profit. The T'u-ssu and his retinue took with them whatever they thought might sell advantageously in Peking. For the return journey, they bought in Peking everything that they knew *would sell* profitably in their home country. The profit was greatly increased by the fact that they traveled free of charge and free of the usual transit taxes. Before they left Peking, moreover, the T'u-ssu received valuable gifts from the emperor, including the traditional ceremonial long coat, the yellow robe worn by officials on state occasions, and pieces of silk and brocade. A visit of this kind to the capital enhanced the stature of the T'u-ssu both among his own subjects and among the Chinese officials, because the rich presents that he took with him provided him with friends and protectors among the high officials at court.

648 624 Most of the foregoing information was collected in Liench'eng, the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan of Liench'eng having been among the last of the T'u-ssu who visited the emperor. Two old Monguors of this clan liked to talk about this visit on which their grandfathers or great-grandfathers had accompanied the T'u-ssu to the capital, where they had seen the emperor. According to the family chronicles of the clan, this visit was made in 1829–1830 by the T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsün, fifteenth in descent from the "founding ancestor" of the clan. He left Liench'eng on the twenty-sixth of the tenth moon and arrived at Peking on the nineteenth of the twelfth moon. On the twenty-third of the twelfth moon he was granted an audience with the emperor and from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth he was invited to banquets and theatrical performances.

On the first of the first moon, the new year according to the lunar calendar, he accompanied the high official who carried out the rite of congratulating the emperor at the palace called the T'ai Ho Tien, and partook of a dinner of state. On the evening of the same day he attended the theatrical performance played on the ice of the lake called Ying T'ai in the Forbidden City. On the fifteenth of the first moon he accompanied the high officials who attended the fireworks illumination of the Yuan Ming Yuan palace, and was granted the favor of such gifts as the peacock plume, clothes, porcelains, and rare foodstuffs. On the nineteenth he presented his thanks to the emperor and asked for leave to depart. He made his farewells to the high officials, left on the twenty-eighth, and completed the long journey back to Liench'eng on the fifth of the fourth moon.

In the same family chronicle there is recorded the visit paid in 1819 by the T'u-ssu Lu Cho to the Emperor Chia Ch'ing on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the summer palace of Jehol. This T'u-ssu left Liench'eng on the nineteenth of the fifth moon and arrived in Jehol on the tenth of the eighth moon. On the twelfth, he was received in audience to greet the emperor in the Lion Garden, where he was accorded the favor of receiving slices of venison sprinkled with pepper and

648 624 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

[p. 52-b]

608 782 who has eaten the pig of the Dalai Lama"; or "If I break my oath, may I be thrown into the deepest of the eighteen Hells"; or "May I be punished through nine reincarnations"; or "If I am false to my oath, may I be killed"; or "May I have my eyes burned out." The oaths, both positive and negative, are followed by the declaration "Now we are as brothers who have suckled the milk of the same mother."

The oaths are taken very seriously. There is great fear of the retribution for perjury. There is a saying that "Poison kills only the man who drinks it but perjury brings the death of his whole family."

608 Sworn brothers call on each other and present gifts at New Year, at the Spring Festival of the Fifth Moon, and at the Autumn Festival, or "Feast of the Dead" on the fifteenth of the Eighth Moon. They invite each other to marriages and funerals like members of the family. In case of clan blood feud, a sworn brother must give help and support as if he were a blood brother. A case of this kind is recorded among the Mongols of the late twelfth century. The father of Chingis was the sworn brother of Wang Khan of the Keraits. After the death of his father and after his wife had been stolen from him by the Merkits, Chingis and his brother went to Wang Khan and presented him with the sable gown that was part of the dowry of Chingis' wife and begged for his support, and Wang Khan declared war on the Merkits.[38]

In some families, the sons of sworn brothers often swear the same oath, and it is common for sworn brothers to give their children to each other in marriage. Often the ties between sworn brothers are more intense and personal than those of blood brothers.

608 685 Among the variations of the sworn brother relationship, a rich man not engaged in crime himself may become a sworn brother with known thieves as a protection against being robbed by them. An influential man will in fact rarely refuse the oath of brothership if it is proposed to him by a noted thief. In carrying out his side of the relationship the "respectable" sworn brother will help the thief when he is short of money and use his influence to get him off if he has been caught. Most of the thieves and robbers in the Monguor country are sworn brothers, linked in one group, and when one of them takes the oath with a rich man he informs the others and none of them will do the rich man harm.

608 It is also true that honest people take the oath together in order either to strengthen already friendly relations, or to organize themselves as a group for mutual protection. In one case of my own knowledge a poor Monguor swore the oath with a rich man who helped him get his affairs on a sound footing. The poor man was honest and loyal and in time he became a man of substance. The relations between these two were as intimate as if they had been real brothers.

608 648 It is common for a rich Monguor to become the sworn brother of the chief of a Tibetan tribe, as a means of se-

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[38] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-khan*, as cited, 27.

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
•648 Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
[282] having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor friend, a protector for his business and a home at which to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn brothers will be noted when we come to the description of the trading caravans that travel into and through Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the Monguors in the waters of Kukunor lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chingis Khan that after the death of a sworn brother his son might appeal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Monguors the family of a sworn brother who has died has no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a limited period and for the achievement of a specific purpose, and be terminated when the purpose has been achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took the oath together. Six months later they invited an old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion of true sons. The relationship was publicly known. After three years, however, gossip began to spread. People wondered why this oath had been taken when the district was at peace. It was suggested that perhaps they had subversive intentions of some kind and that harm might come to the whole community. Eventually the chief and elders of the village summoned both the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry sisters." This relationship is only between two women; it is not extended to a group of more than two. The two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath, but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit down to a meal together. They visit each other at New Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month, and go to help each other in time of sickness. They invite each other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

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596 The division of the inheritance is one of the most difficult of all problems in the extended family of the patrilineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

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animals entrusted to them and the skill and devotion needed if the animals are to get the best pasture and to multiply rapidly. Skill is required especially in the lambing season. A shepherd is treated like a member of the family. At each meal one of the daughters-in-law presents him with his bowl of food, with both hands, with the same respect that is shown to the head of the family, and the shepherd's food is as good as that of the head of the family.

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When there is not enough rain and the pasture is poor, the Monguors will go with a present to the chief of one of the nomad tribes of Tibetans or Mongols, asking permission to graze their stock on his land during the summer. The nomads are always very generous and helpful at such times.

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The Monguors will never sell an animal, or allow an animal already sold to leave their home, on the first or fifteenth of the moon for fear that prosperity and luck might leave the family. Other beliefs in connection with cattle breeding will be discussed in my later work on the religious life of the Monguors.

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An old Monguor of some sixty years once told me that during his lifetime he remembered four different occasions on which the cattle herds had been devastated by epizootics. When such a disaster happens, the flesh of the animals who have died of sickness is cut in long, thin strips which are dried in the sun and for the following year the Monguors have tough beef to chew at every meal.

HUNTING AND FISHING

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The Monguors hunt with the gun and with traps and poison, but because the region has become too thickly populated to support a great deal of game there is no hunting on a large scale. The animals hunted are foxes, wolves, musk-deer, hares, and pheasants, while boys like to shoot marmots with matchlock guns. Foxes and wolves are killed sometimes with the gun, but more usually with strychnine bought from the Chinese. First the tracks of the animal to be poisoned are studied in order to determine its habits. Then for several days meat, taken from hares and birds that have been killed by the hunter, is laid out in order to accustom the animal to this kind of feeding. The poison is then set out. Sometimes the strychnine is put inside a ball of meat, but more usually it is put in the hollow of a long, thin bone, the ends of which are sealed with wax. The fox or wolf dies near the place where it has cracked and swallowed such a bone, while strychnine placed in a ball of meat is slower to act and the animal may travel so far that it is difficult to track. Foxes are also taken with iron traps bought from Chinese smiths. The animal to be trapped is first watched carefully for a number of days in order to learn its habits. Then roasted flour is set out for it to feed on, so that it becomes unwary, and finally the trap is baited and set.

The most valuable game is the musk-deer, which is

224 136 hunted in the forests of Hsimi. This animal has the habit of making and following a small beaten trail along which it goes always to the same place to drop its dung—which is done regularly at the same time of day—and to rub itself against small trees. When such a trail has been found the hunter studies it carefully to determine the best place to attach a running noose to a small tree, which is then bent over and attached to a stake in such a manner that when the deer, going along the trail, puts its head in the noose, the stake is knocked aside, the tree springs up, and the more the deer struggles the 224 137 more quickly it is strangled. The hunter lies hidden watching the trap and the moment the deer is caught he rushes out with a knife to cut out the precious musk pod, which is on the surface of the stomach, near the genitalia. It is believed that the pod must be cut out immediately because otherwise the blood inside the pod will be absorbed into the body of the animal, and the "virtue" of the musk will be lost.

The musk-deer hunters admit that adulteration of this valuable commodity begins the moment that the animal is caught. Musk pods are sold by weight, and therefore as soon as he has cut out the pod the hunter stuffs it with blood and shredded liver from the deer in order to increase the weight. It is seldom that one can buy unadulterated musk in the shops of the Chinese dealers, because in addition to what is done by the hunters themselves to increase the weight, no one knows what the dealers add.

226 648 Although the lamas and most (though not all) Mongols abhor the eating of fish, considering that taking the lives of the fish is a sin that will affect the sinner's next incarnation, the Monguors do engage in considerable fishing in Kukunor.[7] As soon as the lake has frozen in winter, small expeditions go from the Monguor country to the lake. Such an expedition lasts for about two months, and the Monguors are back by New Year's Eve of the lunar calendar, which comes usually toward the end of February or the beginning of March. The Monguors go first to see the chief of the Mongol or

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[7] Kukunor, the "Azure Lake," is 230 miles in circumference, at an altitude of 10,900 feet above sea level. (W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, 120, New York, Century, 1891.) The water is salty. Two rivers run into the lake, the bottom of which is covered with sand and small stones. One big island rises out of the water and is inhabited by a few lamas, who only in wintertime, when the lake is frozen, can come ashore, since no boats are used on the lake. At that time the Tibetans drive horses and sheep to the island in order that they may graze and breed; colts and lambs bred on the island are assumed to be a blessing for the herds. The famous *Ch'ien-li-ma* (horses which are reputed to run 1,000 *li* or approximately 300 miles in one day) celebrated as long ago as the Han dynasty, are said to be bred on the island, whose grass is reputed wonderfully nutritive for animals. There are three kinds of fishes in the lake, where fish are plentiful: *schizopygopsis przewalskii*, *schizopygopsis leptocephalus*, and *schizopygopsis gracilis*. They weigh from three to five and seven pounds. (Przewalskii, *Reisen in der Mongolei, in das Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets*, 140, Jena, 1873).

[p 113b]

226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of
648 the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of
wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given
the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the
same territory every year and become sworn brothers of
the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to
make sure that while they are camped by the lake they
will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals
stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands
563 of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They will-
439 ingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of
pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the
Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers.
Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel
either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded
donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from
house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and
other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In
the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen
and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

173 291 562 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 648 The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu[10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 292 562 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 562 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 294 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

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[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

[P.119a]

/2 cont'd/

> 144
> 162 Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101 197 [113] These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622 648 The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177 The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

[5 cont.] Their total number Cannot

161 be given with any precision since the official statistics are unreliable. An estimate in a Tsinghai chronicle (1943) sets [6] [map appears here] [7] their total number for Tsinghai at approximately 27,000-30,000; cf. Hsü Kung-wu: Ch'ing-hai chih-lüeh. I have lost the other most recent statistics, especially those of the periodical Hsi-pei-t'ung-hsün. The figure cited by P. M. Hermanns seems to me to be too low; see Hermanns, Nomaden, p. 30.

792 The religious and spiritual center of the Tujen in the county of Huchu is the monastery dGon-luṅ, called Rẽgulõṅ (Rgulõṅ) in the Tujen language (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 17.] The common Chinese name is Erh-ku-lung szu, more rarely, Yuning szu. Concerning the history and significance of this monastery and its Tulkus [Living Buddhas] (Ch'ang-chia and T'ukuan Hutukhtu), cf. the discussion at the conclusion of the second part.

3. Status and Task of the Investigation

114 There is little to report concerning research on the Tujen.
648 European science did not become aware of this ethnic group until the second half of the last century, after the French missionaries Huc and Gabet traveled through the Koko Nor region on their Tibetan journey (1844-46) and also skirted the homeland of their guide, who was a former Tujen lama; cf. M. Huc, Travels, p. 281. After them other explorers came in contact with the Tujen, for example, Przewalski (1873), Potanin (1884), Rockhill (1891/92). D'Ollone visited a related group in southern Kansu (1906), but not the Tujen of Tsinghai. Similarly, Mannerheim stayed only among the Shera-Yögur, with whom there is an inclination to relate the Tujen. A. Tafel made his Tibetan journey in 1905-1908 and briefly visited the Tujen in the region of the present Huchu. Filchner has not been in the region of the Tujen during his

[7 cont.]

114 ●648 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is unnecessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 797 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P.A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

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2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
[553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout
the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed
in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform
everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker,
overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is
asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old
Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
212 and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors.
[871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors,
local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the
Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows
the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to
whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He
himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable
number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain,
as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly
the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply
115 been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary.
191 Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with
the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old
man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to
visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the
way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he
came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about
the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared
in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

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*778

[67 cont.] [Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.] or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hualing-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

[648]

775 [*636 cont.*]
763
778
[278]
[192]

[Note on foreign text pp.650-651].
conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), *Kumbum*, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name *rilu*, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, *ril bu*. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation *reru* (*ruru*) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, *ril po* and *ril bu* (with the *l* silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for *ril bu* he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [*651*] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This *ruru* is to be distinguished from *nuru*, the Tib. *nor bu* or *cintamani*, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the *ruru* pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

[648]

rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life. [262]

vent shamanists, and provides a reason why Lamaism 771 never succeeded in uprooting shamanism, notwithstanding its overwhelming influence for centuries. Another important factor, without doubt, is in the very nature of the debased Lamaism. Lamas of the Red Sect, who [795] were the first to come into the country, indulged in nearly all the same magical practices as the old shamans, including bloody sacrifices, except that they performed them in such a way that the people, not interested in philosophical and doctrinal discussions but in having religious men who could avert all kinds of calamities in the most efficient way, jumped to the obvious conclusion that the basic difference existing between shamanism and Lamaism was only a question of more or less proficiency in magical art. Lamaism became a kind of supplementary devotion, stimulating the heart to natural kindness and religiosity, but harmonizing perfectly with all kinds of magical practices, regardless of the performer.

POSITION OF SHAMANISM

The place shamanism occupies in the religious life of 771 the Monguors, and its persistence over centuries under 756 the most unfavorable conditions, seems to be an enigma. The lamas, who outnumber the shamans perhaps a hundred to one, are members of a wealthy institution. The few shamans are mostly poor people who derive a precarious existence from the farming of some fields and the fulfilling of their office. Lamas have temples that glisten with gilt; the shamans have none of their own. Lamas are more or less cultured men; most of the shamans are unable to read. The lama institution enjoys [648] a high prestige among the Chinese officials, and controls nearly all the levers of power in the country; the poor shaman, living in the village with his family, always at the beck and call of the villagers, is an unknown and powerless entity in the official world. But, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the shaman remains a figure of importance with his own kind of prestige, in the religious life of the Monguors.

For those who are cognizant of the power of the impact of wealth and decorum upon the societies of the Orient, this fact seems hard to understand. Its explanation is to be found in the general belief that the shamans are mightier than the lamas because they are more proficient in magical art, and in the subduing of evil spirits. People steeped in superstition, beset on every side by malignant spirits, confronted by diseases, misfortunes, and evils, have easy recourse to the men they believe might best help them, and whom they believe best master the technique of undoing the harm wrought by uncontrollable forces, namely, the shamans. This belief in the magical superiority of the shaman is so deep-rooted because lamas, and even Living Buddhas, when squeezed to the wall, unable to cope with uncontrollable forces and events, resort occasionally to their last shred of hope, the shaman.

[p.7(8)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175
fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to
prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563]
A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175
Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797
the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175
feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648
destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781]
and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama
Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175
the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

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[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113]
of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
>
> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
> barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
> order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
> the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16 (B)]

The support and protection of the Mongols and of 175
the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow 648
Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717– 771
1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and [789]
destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in 175
Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the 792
late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated 346
monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, [792
the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its 137
precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see
Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang 755]
from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[p.25(A)]

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the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha.

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

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The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles,* the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would

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Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa, Bulugpa,* were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa, Dso-gchyenpa, Chhyay Chhempa,* and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya.*

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon,* n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

[p.28(A)]

be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF EHR-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great 175
Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; 792
he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar.

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already 175
raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, 792
was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring 648
to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and 554
diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor.

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

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[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti* 5 *p'ien*, 93.

[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the 175
lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their de- 792
votion went so far as to make them struggle and com- 648
pete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang- 554
chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang- [778]
chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appoint- [314]
ment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an 175
agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for 648
Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than 792
the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

[p. 30(A)]

Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and 775 that the English allowed everyone to follow his religion 648 unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that 792 the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,'" 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175 of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792 the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huangchung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775] *of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha* T'u-kuan Nag'dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [834] chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175 lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792 upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648 Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

[p. 31 (B)]

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important 175 monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] 792 He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet 648 and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. [554] In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this [114] work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, 175 the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. 792 Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schulemann, *op. cit.*, 178-9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881-1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 148-149.

[p.32(A)]

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was em- 792
bellished and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splen- 346
did palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which oc- 175
curred in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung hav- 175
ing a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

The appointment of the lama intendant is an act of overriding importance and far-reaching consequences. The supreme chief himself chooses a capable, loyal, and dependable lama and appoints him as Intendant of the Monastery—not of the community of lamas, or of the colleges. The appointment is indefinite and can be transferred to another lama at the will of the supreme chief. Usually, however, it lasts for a lifetime. The intendant is a man of confidence on whom the supreme chief relies completely. He occupies a large courtyard of the administrative buildings constructed in the center of the monastery. The instruments of torture displayed at the gate of his courtyard indicate that he rules its court of justice and is its chief executive by appointment of the proprietor of the monastery. 792

All important administrative questions of the monastery are discussed between the supreme chief and his intendant: the invitation of the Fa-t'ai's proposed by the boards of the community of lamas and of the colleges, the appointment of procurators and of lay intendants; matters concerning the subjects, the villages, and branches of the monastery; and troubles between lamas or within the community of lamas or the colleges. The intendant knows the lamas of merit and the intrigues, competitions and factions among them. He is invited to attend the meetings between the supreme chief and the boards of the colleges and the community of lamas. Because he is a man of experience, and usually of long residence at that particular lamasery, his advice is respected and usually followed. The ability to mediate is even more important than the manner of authority.

The intendant must be a man who knows the Chinese officials and the intricacies of the courts of justice. He sends the seasonal gifts to the Chinese officials, visits them to knit friendship with them, and knows who among them is well or ill disposed toward the monastery. He also knows the influential persons in the city who are friends of the officials, and who among them can be used if need be for the benefit of the monastery by exerting their influence upon the officials. He visits such people occasionally during the year to offer them gifts, in order to have a foot in the door when needed. Lamas know very well that "Justice cannot stand on its own feet, it needs to be supported and steadied." The intendant must be a man who can see farther ahead than ordinary naive and ignorant lamas and is able, therefore, to dissuade them from bringing lawsuits. 792 648

The intendant of the monastery alone disposes of all the wealth of the monastery (not of the wealth of the community of the lamas or of the colleges), its revenues, investment of capital, loans, gifts, and alms received (but not of alms given to the community of lamas or to the colleges). He has to cope with all the expenses of the monastery, and to try to increase the collection of gifts and alms. He is in charge of the provisioning of the monastery, and must see that the procurator secures 792

[p. 39 (B)]

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792

The study of the material aspects of the administra- 175
tion of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted [168
the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the 646]
region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride.

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the 792
emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, sur- 175
rounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more 692
or less elaborate residence built within a compound of [643]
temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed

[p.49(A)]

thanksgiving for the honor bestowed upon the family. 792
Some time later, the nephew of T'u-kuan, of the Ts'e- 662
bdurk family became the reincarnation of the Living 775
Buddha of Labrang, the most intimate friend of T'u-kuan for many generations. It was T'u-kuan who, in Peking, obtained the title of Erdeni Nomun-khan for the Living Buddha of Labrang.[23] After the death of the Living Buddha of Labrang, T'u-kuan is invited to cast the horoscope in order to indicate the place where the reincarnation of his friend will occur, and *vice versa*.

SEARCH FOR THE INCARNATION

This problem has been dealt with by many authors. 792
Therefore, only data concerning Huang-chung will here 795
be recorded, because they may help to reveal the social 648
psychology of the Monguor lamas and of the Monguors. Upon the death of one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, the Dalai Lama is invited to cast the horoscope indicating the place of rebirth. Usually two or three boys seem to fulfill the requirements. Their names are sent to Peking and put in the traditional urn, according to the protocol established by imperial edict in 1793,[24] from which one is then drawn. The name drawn is supposed to be that of the genuine incarnation. For minor Living Buddhas, another Living Buddha is requested to render the service.

Usually the place of rebirth is indicated in terms as 792
vague as the oracle of Delphi, and lamas go to find the 795
candidate, but old lamas have admitted to me confi- 662
dentially that soon after the death of a Living Buddha 787
some lamas of the intendancy are sent to investigate where children were born around that time, and in what wealthy family, and actually it is usually one or two years before the horoscope is cast. Sometimes the horoscope is so vague that it is many years before the boy is found. The rebirth of Achia of Kumbum who died tragically in 1909 was found after six years, and two boys fitted the requirements. The two names were sent to Peking, and one was chosen. At that time the lamas of Kumbum were in a hurry, fearing that Achia would no longer reincarnate because of the fateful circumstances of his death. When the boy is found, lamas have him select from among several items displayed (beads, cups, etc.) the things he used in his previous existences. This is performed in the presence of lamas only.

Wonderful legends are told about the reincarnations 538
of Erh-ku-lung. T'u-kuan, bent with age, went on foot 775
to Peking, incognito, in order to heap up piles of merit. At night, in Lien-ch'eng, a good but poor lady prepared his food, and in the morning when he left she offered him her last piece of brick tea. T'u-kuan died in Peking and was reborn in the child to which the poor but charitable lady gave birth. It was her reward.

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[23] Huth, *op. cit.*, 288.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung pao* 9 (1): 55, March, 1910.

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795
in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792
over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175
1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yel-
low Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform.
If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small
hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and
developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-ku-
lung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that
time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-
chung, living a precarious existence owing to the in-
termittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only
after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648]
offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dy-
nasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the
Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been en-
feebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect en-
tered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794
during the Ming period, in the always disturbed coun-
try, seem to have been akin with those under which
they now live in the region north of the Hsining River.
A small number of them are encountered in villages
there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small
group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the
position for one year. They possess their own small
temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven
days in order to read their texts, perform their rites,
and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some
of them have a pupil who receives training from his
master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people
to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a mon-
astery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a
backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175
tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795
its strong organization, two of the most important Red
groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red
lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own
Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

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[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*. [p.73(B)]

Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which 175
had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a 795
monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. [792] The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery [648] and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and 795
the deities honored in their temples may be passed over 792
here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every 756 clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans.

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the [648] patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later.

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy."[*] Shamans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and [651] corvées.

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear 756 292 302 the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

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[*] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan,* 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* **23**: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus,* Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus,* 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* **48**: 511, 1953.

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Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their [175] heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of [648] ● dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a 756 534 shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The [166] boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their off

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[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap. [p.83(B)]

fected the imperial family of the founder of the new 795
Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to al- 175
liances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth 646
son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of 643
the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts 177
occupied important administrative posts in the new na- 797
tion. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai 643
and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into 797
> the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that 175
> of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the 643
> "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

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[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help 795
needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 776

However, they had populated the world with a host 775
of good and evil spirits on which they thought they 771
depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the 756
world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them 776
with the protection and benefits needed during their 771
life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the 775
existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the 771
terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[54]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submis- 614
sion to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly dis- 648
posed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

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[54] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157 (A)]

ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614 They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648 China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part 1: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 792 radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614 celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175 the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614 this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177 revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175 hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

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part, based on religion and exercised in religious 593
matters. 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are ac- 771
customed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of *their traditions and customs*. It
helps tremendously in holding them close together, and [186]
prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation.

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the 648
Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by 771
the emperors toward Lamaism.

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

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wrought by barbarians in their country to indulge in 648
such utopian hopes. They knew too well that more or 771
less powerful tribes never had lived peaceably next to each other; that peace had reigned inside Mongolia and Tibet only as long as an all-powerful chief was able to subdue and to dominate the tribes, but that immediately after his death the tribes had always dispersed and began a new cycle of tribal wars. They knew too that barbarian conquerors had always tried to overcome China and had repeatedly succeeded in founding dynasties. In other circumstances Mongol and Tibetan tribes had only kept quiet along the Chinese frontiers so long as China had been able to wield sufficient military power to impose peace on them. The Chinese also knew very well that Lamaism had never changed the predatory instincts of the barbarians, and that the lamas in Tibet and Huang-chung had been just as savage warriors as the laymen. Once in a while Hutukhtus had tried to mediate the troubles among the tribes, but other influential chiefs of tribes and persons of standing had also tried, with comparable results of success or failure.

It is asserted that the Yellow Sect became an important power among the barbarians from the time when Gushi Khan, after conquering Tibet, installed the Dalai Lama as temporal chief of the country (1636), and that the Manchu dynasty recognized the fact. Before that time Lamaism was divided into sects, which supported the numerous political parties in the country fighting for supremacy. By mixing in politics and wars, and because of lack of unity, the influence of the sects was dissipated. The chiefs of the sects, however, craving titles and privileges, curried the favor of the emperors. The emperors were happy to comply with their requests, appreciating the asset of having friendly disposed influential chiefs in far-off countries, but always waited for an opportunity to use them to further the interests of the empire.

It was in this way that the Ming emperors (1368– 643
1643) favored the lamas in Huang-chung, whatever 648
their sect, by lavishly granting titles and privileges, and 792
contributing to the building of monasteries in order to populate the desolate country, and to keep the Mongol tribes quiet after the overthrow of the Yüan dynasty.

Later on, when Lamaism had become a real power, the Ch'ing dynasty engaged in war with the Kalmuks or Western Mongols. Well aware of the influence which the Yellow Sect wielded among the eastern and western Mongols and its questionable behavior toward the empire, the Ch'ing dynasty imposed its authority on Lhasa by means of its armies, but at the same time granted favors and privileges to the lamas.

The institution of the committee for the translation 814
into Mongol and the printing of Tibetan books dates 663
from the Manchu period. This was a remarkable 648
political provision. The most celebrated and learned lamas and Hutukhtus of the monasteries of Tibet,

Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members 814
of the committee. They were showered with honorific 663
titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the 648
capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not inter- 648
fere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism 797
to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Bud- 771
dhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

5: Schram
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AE9 Monguor AE9

[For the information related to the relationship of Monguors with Chinese emperors, see category 116, pp. 72-114.]

PREFACE

t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among 121 them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects.

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tang-hsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands [563] of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung.

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in 175ˣ the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the 121 Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the 648 time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the 703 barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor

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x175 the eminent chiefs of the clan; and by delegating high
121 officials to present official burials and sacrifices to the
646 deceased chiefs and to read the sacrificial oration com-
703 posed by the emperor himself as a farewell to the meritorious deceased.

These were some of the means used by the emperor to win the hearts of the Monguors and to make of them defenders of the empire.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with the appearance of the last part of the study, my indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation and the American Philosophical Society for the grants which enabled me to complete the work, and to Professor and Mrs. Owen Lattimore for the help they rendered and for their assistance in the preparation of the study.

I cannot conclude without remembering with gratitude the special debt I owe to Miss Theresa A. Tims, and without expressing my sincerest appreciation of her considerable help, graciously rendered, in correcting and preparing the English draft and the editing of the publication with wonderful patience and good humor through long hours.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

Owen and Eleanor Lattimore

114 As the main significance of Father Schram's work is its presentation of historical and sociological material, no attempt has been made, in editing his text, to be over pedantic in the transliteration of Chinese and Mongol names of people, places, institutions or titles. We have adopted instead what we hope are rules of common sense.

For Chinese, the system of transliteration with the widest international acceptance is that of Wade, and we have used it except in the case of geographical names where there is a well-established English spelling. For instance the strict Wade transcription for the name of the city of Lanchow would be Lan Chou, but we use Lanchow because that form is internationally well established. Similarly we write Szechwan (the name of a province) instead of Ssu Ch'uan.

For transcribing Mongol (and Manchu) there is no widely accepted system, but fortunately the sounds of these languages can be indicated with reasonable accu-

[P. 4 (A)]

x175 101 133 Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. x175 648 Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

[635] The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

x175 162 In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished.

x175 648 The Tang dynasty (620-906) had been unable to

*175 648 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contemporaneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty, [131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

*175 162 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

*175 648 101 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.

[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.

[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.

[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin Ecole Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin. 154.

[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

[P. 9(B)]

x175
648
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In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D. 280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ninghsia) in Ming-sha hsien.[12]

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'u-fan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.[13] The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.[14]

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[12] Franke, *op. cit.* **2**: 397. Schram, Monguors I: 19. *Annals* of Kansu **45**: 55*a*. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. École Française d'Extrême Orient* **44**: 223.

[13] The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsan-p'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

[14] *Annals* of Kansu **45**: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, **146**: 3–5. Franke, *op. cit.* **2**: 398, 399, 433, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals* of Hsining **30**: 25–30.

[P. 10(A)]

x 175 648 In 842 the Tsan-p'u Ta-mo died without issue, whereupon bitter feuds and sharp cleavages appeared among the T'u-fan governors and military commanders in East Kansu, Huangchung, and Tibet. The doom of the Tibetan nation was sealed, and the time seemed propitious to the Chinese for the recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. But already in 842, Lun K'ung-jo, a T'u-fan military commander, proclaimed himself supreme chief of all the tribes settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. However, in Hsining there was a T'u-fan governor, Chang-pe-pe, appointed by the former Tsan-p'u. The two groups fought until 850. Chang-pe-pe, betrayed by some of his commanders, was forced to flee across Kanchow to Turkistan with 2,000 men of his group, pursued by Lun K'ung-jo and his 5,000 soldiers to Kua Chou. Before his flight, Chang-pe-pe had entrusted the defense of the city of Hsining to his faithful commander T'o-pa-huai-kuang. Lun K'ung-jo, hearing that the city of Hsining was occupied by T'o-pa-huai-kuang, hurried back and in a rage savagely laid waste the whole of Huangchung and eight cities and districts in East Kansu. After his brutal behavior his troops refused to follow him. He settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung with the last 200 of his followers. He was beheaded in 866 by the T'u-fan commander of Hsining, T'o-pa-huai-kuang, who sent his head to the emperor. During these troubles Chinese troops had recovered nearly the whole of East Kansu and accepted the submission of the Tibetans of East Kansu (*Annals* of Kansu **45**: 65*a*, 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining **30**: 30, 30*a*, 31*a*).

The *Annals* of Kansu record (**45**: 66*b*) that in 851 the independent Chinese commander Chang I-ch'ao received the appointment of military commander of the Chinese Kuei-i troops garrisoned in Sha Chou. Formerly he had occupied on his own account ten cities, and had sent his brother to offer them to the emperor. The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) record that Chang I-ch'ao pacified Hsining and Kuo Chou in 851 and in that way East Kansu and Huangchung were completely recovered after ninety years (763–852).[15] The *Annals* of Hsining (**30**: 30, 31*a*) also note that the Uighur commander Pukukun of Besbalik occupied the fateful city of Hsining in 866 and both *Annals* finally note: "at these times China was beset with many problems and its orders were not obeyed by the Kuei-i troops." The *Annals* of Kansu add: "in 872 the Uighurs captured Kanchow and many more districts." The history of Huangchung and Turkistan is very confused for this period.

x175 The point of ruin and disintegration was reached among the Tibetan tribes, in East Kansu and Huangchung, after ten years of bloody fights between Lun K'ung-jo and Chang-pe-pe. The havoc savagely wrought among the tribes, tearing asunder their own tribes, transferring allegiance from one chief to another, x175 and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 30, 31*a*).[16]

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[15] Hamilton, *op. cit.* **10**: 13–16, 94–95, 128–129.

[P. 19(B)]

x175 648 However, China was not able to pay much attention to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852–875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907–960).[17]

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907–960

x175 Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907–960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923–936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10*b*, 11*a*). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors,* I: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

x175 648 563 The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East

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[16] Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.

[17] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128-129.

*175 Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrusting
648 these promises and enraged on account of the ruthless
563 behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947–950) and Hu Chu (951–960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century." [18]

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923–936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936–946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.[19]

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[18] P. Pelliot, Chrètiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao,* 15 (5): 630, 1914.

[19] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

[P. 11(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2

FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

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The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

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The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

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[437
484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

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[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

[P.12(A)]

M 175 × 648

because in 1008 Wen-pu-ku,[22] chief of the important T'u-fan tribe of Mao-ch'uan (the actual subprefecture Nien-pe), went to court to surrender, leading forty-five other T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes of Ho-shi.[23] However, perspicacious T'u-fan leaders should long since have considered a wrong policy the reliance upon the protection of the Sung dynasty, which had to contend with serious troubles from inside and to fight the empire of the Liao barbarians in north China and at the same time to repell the invasions of the turbulent Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi. Therefore some of them must have considered that the genuine solution of the problem would be not to rely upon China, but upon themselves, rebuilding a T'u-fan Kingdom and welding the tribes in a unit under the chieftainship of a descendant of the founder of the kingdom.

M 175 × 648 HT 648

Ho-lang-yeh-hsien, T'u-fan chief of Ho Chou tribes in East Kansu, was by accident or design in Kao Ch'ang in 1008 as the guest of the T'u-fan tribes of the petty Mo-yu kingdom. There he met a handsome and intelligent boy of twelve years of age, called Chiossulo, a genuine offspring of the imperial Tsan-p'u family of Lhasa.[24] He invited the boy to Ho Chou. The lama Li Li-tsun, chief of the important tribe of Tsung K'o[25] and Wen-pu-ku the powerful chief of the tribes of Mao Ch'uan made an agreement with Ho Chou, and succeeded in moving the boy to Kuo Chou in Huangchung, acknowledging him as their chief. Confidence revived among the federated tribes in Huangchung and Ho Chou. Chiossulo was moved into the city of Tsung K'o and Li Lama appointed as minister. As cohesion among the tribes increased, the old predatory instinct was revived. In 1015 the lama, puffed up with pride, went plundering with the T'u-fan of Niku (region of the actual Lanchow) but was defeated by the Chinese general Ts'ao Wei in San-tu-ku and in the region of Hsi Liang. After these disastrous expeditions Chiossulo dismissed his minister, abhorred by the tribes. He left Tsung K'o, moved to Mao-ch'uan, and appointed Wen-pu-ku his minister.

In 1016 Chiossulo deputed chiefs of his tribes to convey to the court excuses for the inroads made by Li Lama, presenting his submission and a gift of 583 horses. At the same time, on account of the persistent

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[22] Stein, *op. cit.*, 232.

[23] *Sung Shih* 492: 8, 9, 10.

[24] "The T'u-fan dynasty founded in the 7th century by Sron-btsan sgam-po, consisted of tribes, not always on good terms with one another, welded into temporary unity. When king Lang-dharma started the persecution of Buddhism in 842 and was murdered the same year, the dynasty fell, never to rise again, and its military power vanished. However, the royal family was not wiped out with the end of the dynasty. Indeed Lang-dharma's descendants succeeded in founding some new petty kingdoms in the farthest regions of Tibet" (Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 3, Roma, 1949). The Mo-yu kingdom in Kao-ch'ang must have been a kingdom of the same pattern (*Sung Shih* 492: 2*b*).

[25] Tsung K'o is the region situated southwest of P'ing-jung-i which is located 80 li east of Hsining.

[P. 12 (B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Tibet AJ2
Vigur AI4

M 175x 648 HT 648

inroads of Hsi Hsia on the Huangchung borders and in East Kansu, the deputation proposed to the emperor that he fight Hsi Hsia in combination with the 60,000 troops Chiossulo commanded. The proposition was hotly debated among the ministers. The emperor, afraid of the revival of a new and terrible Tsan-p'u power, and distrusting the inconstancy and predatoriness of the barbarians, refused the offer. Thereupon the embittered Chiossulo invaded Fu Ch'iang in South Kansu with his troops of Huangchung and Ho Chou, but suffered a striking defeat at the hand of General Ts'ao Wei (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6*b*). The commander of the troops of Ho Chou abandoned Chiossulo and submitted to the emperor, enfeebling the position of Chiossulo. In 1028 Hsi Hsia, invading West Kansu, liquidated the kingdom of the Uighurs in Kanchow and so the threat of invasion became more imminent.

M 175x 648

Chiossulo and his minister submitted to the emperor in 1032 and were bestowed with titles. However, the Minister Wen Pu Ku revolted against Chiossulo, who killed him and later moved to Hsining. Chiossulo having troubles in his own backyard, Li Yuan-hao, King of Hsi Hsia, seized the opportunity to invade Hsining in 1035, but Chiossulo administered a tremendous defeat. This victory rendered him the master of all of Huangchung.

U 175 484

Li Yuen-hao conquered the districts of Su, Kua, and Sha Chou in West Kansu, commanding the trade roads to Central Asia, in 1036, and started moving T'u-fan and Uighur tribes into his kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Then many T'u-fan tribes, among them the tribes of Niku and several ten thousands of Uighurs preferred to flee to Chiossulo, pledge allegiance to him and settle in Huangchung. The scant population of Huangchung increased to the point where Chiossulo became the ruler of 600,000 subjects and Hsining started flourishing. M 175x The Uighurs, reputed traders, used to travel between Central Asia, China, and the Liao empire, and were familiar with the roads running from Hsining through Kokonor and the passes in the Nan Shan leading to Kao Ch'ang[26] and Central Asia. "The traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to Hsining." Hsining thrived with trade; wealth and riches poured into the country and at the same time agriculture developed.[27]

SEVERAL TEN THOUSANDS OF UIGHURS FLED TO HUANGCHUNG

M U 167 648 M 175x U 175

Now the emperor was in a hurry to send an official to congratulate Chiossulo for his resounding victory over the Hsi Hsia, bringing him the titles of military governor of East Kansu and supreme chief of Mao-

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[26] Kao Ch'ang is also called Turfan, Hsi Chou. In that region must have been the kingdom of Mo-yu where Chiossulo was born.

[27] *Sung Shih*, **492**: 8, 10, 11, 13. *Sung Shih* **251**: 13. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 6, 7, 8. *Annals* of Hsining **30B**: 1, 2, 3; **33A-B**.

[P.13(A)]

Vlgur AI4

M U 167 648

M 175x U 175

ch'uan (i.e., of the entire Huangchung), a gift of 20,000 pieces of silk and a salary, making him understand that he was an official of the empire. At the same time he enjoined him to attack Hsi Hsia in Liangchow. Chiossulo judged his troops too feeble to risk the venture. Another official arrived with the same order. This time Chiossulo treated him very roughly. His behavior was not that of a subject treating with the emperor, but rather that of a nephew talking about an uncle,[28] because two Chinese princesses, Wen Ch'eng in 643 and Kin Ch'eng in 710, had been married to princes of the imperial Tsan-p'u house of Lhasa. The Chinese official readily understood the attitude of Chiossulo and informed the emperor (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 8*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 2*a*). During thirty years Chiossulo did not care for the empire which intermittently waged war with Hsi Hsia in East Kansu and Shensi with varied fortune, nor did he care for the Chinese officials whom the emperor tried to appoint in Huangchung; he cared only for his own kingdom, appointing his officials in Huangchung and on the East Kansu borders. Huangchung was the only country where people lived peacefully engrossed in agriculture and where trade boomed.

HSINING IN THE HEYDAY OF ITS GLORY

M 175x 361

Chiossulo was in the heyday of his glory. He rebuilt the city of Hsining. According to the notes recorded by a Chinese official who at that time had been sent to confer with Chiossulo,[29] the circumference of the city was 20 li. The city was protected by a strong, high wall dotted with towers, and eight gates secured access to the city. In the center of this enormous city was constructed a large fortress having four strong towers at the corners. This fortress must have corresponded to the actual city of Hsining and the enormous outer city must have been built to secure a refuge for the surrounding people and their herds at the time of inroads from invading tribes. Chiossulo resided in the fortress in a sumptuous palace, whose roofs were covered with glazed tiles. In this city was a large hall built on a terrace having eight steps and a sumptuous entrance supported by huge pillars. The administration buildings were constructed inside the city, two small palaces for the princesses of the Ch'i Tan and of the Hsi Hsia, and a splendid temple in which was throned a gilded Buddha statue, ten feet high, adorned with strings of pearls and a precious mantle.

M [341]

M [792 532]

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[28] A. Rona Tas, Social terms in the list of grants of the Tibetan Tunhuang Chronicle, *Acta Orientalia*, V, **5**: 266. 1955. Relationship between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king, of uncle and nephew on the maternal side, essentially reflects the Tibetan avuncular system; this relationship, which used to determine the mutual position of the two rulers, is rooted in social history.

[29] Enoki, *op. cit.*, 90, 91. Oshono kika keiryaku ni tsuite (On the *Hsi-ho ching-luch* of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, Tokyo (*Meng-ku hsueh-pao,*) I, Shuo fu, **15**: 12 *a-b*.

[P. 13 (B)]

M 175x 795 756

might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

M 175x 167 563 U 167 175

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

M ● U [648] ● M 175x 167 563 U 175 167

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19*a*) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3*a–b*). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, 175x
situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). 563
The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 167
with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu **97**: 14, 619
record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 3 *a–b*). The
Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 M
li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city [342]
(fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining **1**: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU
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In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the 175x
Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been 648 ●
noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), U
Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial fam- 175
ily, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 648
90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Tatung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

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[39] *Anthropos* **52**: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? M 175x
Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device 648 ●
to increase the military power of the myriarch? U

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others 175 648
were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, M
and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west 619
of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled 624
their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes 563
and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably M
they were Uighurs, for they were moved from [171]
the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects
these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. M
At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, [171]
Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large M 175x
group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the 614
t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and 563
is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur M [624]
tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

M 175x 614

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only 563
a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has 648
the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs U
been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o 175
tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po 167
tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a 648

Vigur AI4

Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, M
our investigations are turned in that direction. 175x

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung 614
and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants 563
of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles 648
with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one V
man against the Sung empire, combining its forces 175
with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung 167
were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops 648
and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

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Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that 175x
region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* 563
of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS M

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou 175x
Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the 619
T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 563
26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In V 175
the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil- 619

[P.17(B)]

Vigur AI4

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42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

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In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

Uigur AI4

M 175x 648 U 175 648

at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

M 792

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

M 173

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

M 792

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

M 175x 648 U 175 648

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97 : 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa,* the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

U 175

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41] U 175

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

M 175x 648● 167

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huangchung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huangchung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. M [563] In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

M 175x [595]

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

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[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14*a–b*). In 175x
1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor
ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new 175x
chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, 648
and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* **492**: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives [628
of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the 578]
dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* **492**: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he 175x
appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of 643
his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an [547]
unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan 648
kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

[P.20(A)]

the appointment despite the memorial presented to the throne by minister Su Shih (*Annals* of Hsining 33B: 9, 10). The emperor preferred the time-honored policy of his predecessors sowing discord among tribes threatening the empire. He anticipated the annihilation of the tribes by themselves, and the easy recovery of East Kansu and Huangchung. The tribes in favor of the legitimate offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo started a murderous struggle with the tribes following A li ku, backed by Chinese troops. Again the savage propensity for self-destruction among the tribes was soon in full sway and tribes tore themselves to pieces. The emperor granted titles to A li ku and his son and also to the offspring of the second wife of Chiossulo. A war of destruction went on until the death of A li ku in 1096, who had appointed his son as his successor. The appointment was again ratified by the emperor. This time all the T'u-fan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted against the empire. A strong army of 100,000 invited Hsi Hsia troops came to rescue them in Mao Ch'uan. A tremendous blow was administered to the Chinese. Then the Chinese general, in desperate straits, made an offer of settlement and invited some T'u-fan chiefs to appoint the son of Mou Cheng as chief of the tribes because, he said, he was the genuine offspring of Chiossulo! 175x 643 648 [669]

But it was too late. The tribes did not abide by the decision of the chiefs and had become the irreconcilable enemies of China. Murderous fighting continued, the cities in Huangchung were taken and retaken several times and delivered to sack and slaughter by Chinese troops and then by the rebel tribes indulging in acts of gratuitous cruelty. Villages became clusters of ruined hovels. Many tribes disintegrating, groups of them fled to the southern part of East Kansu and to the borders of Kokonor, but the Chinese troops continued fighting against the Huangchung tribes associated with the Hsi Hsia until 1115, laying waste the whole country (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 1, 14; *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 6, 7). At that time, the Chin empire embarking upon the conquest of China, the Chinese troops were ordered to leave Huangchung. Chin armies peacefully occupied Huangchung in 1131. Huangchung had enjoyed a period of glory and unusual wealth during fifty years (1036–1086) followed by forty-five years of internecine wars among the tribes and savage destruction of the country (1086–1131). 175x 721 175x

From 1131 until the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols in 1227, the history of Huangchung is a blank page. The conquest of East Kansu and the war with China and the Hsi Hsia absorbed the whole forces of the Chin emperor. An official appointed in Ho Chou in East Kansu by the Chin cared for the uninteresting, exhausted, and depleted tribes of Huangchung, with its ruined cities and villages and starving T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Uighur and Shat'o population. It may be assumed that in these circumstances the pitiful tribes

[p.20(B)]

M 175x HM 648

Sixty years after Huangchung had been conquered by Subudei (1227) the civil and military organization of the country was started. We do not know who cared for Huangchung before that time. Only *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 5*a* records that for the first time, in 1269, after forty years, in Ho-chou (East Kansu) a bureau for the pacification of the T'u-fan (T'u-fan hsuan-wei-sse) had been established, and it may be presumed that Ho Chou kept an eye on Huangchung from that time on. However, Ao-lu-ch'ih controlled the Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 3*a*). Finally in 1286 Hsining was created a district (chou) depending on the military commandery (Tsung-kuan-fu) of the circuit (Lu) of I-chi-nai, situated 500 li northeast of Suchow in the Gobi. Regular civil and military officials were appointed (*Annals* of Hsining **22**: 5*a*) and the institution of the graneries established, from which we can infer that land taxes were imposed (*Annals* of Hsining **31B**, 8*b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 24*a*). In 1287 Chang Chi received the title of Prince of Ning P'u, prince of the second degree, with the duty of military commander and governor of Huangchung and with the order to garrison the country (*Annals* of Hsining **32B**: 8*b*; *Yuan Shih* **14**: 13*b*, 27, 60; *Ming Shih* **330**: 1*b*). This seems to indicate that Chang Chi, before that time, had not resided in his appanage and had not administered it, although he had been entitled to receive some revenues from it. He had been a simple commander of his own troops, always available to be sent by his superiors where emergencies arose. It was in that way that his troops had fought under the command of Ao-lu-ch'ih in 1275, that in 1288 he was ordered, in combination with other commanders, to fight Kaidu, who attacked the frontiers of Kansu (*Yuan Shih* **15**: 1*b*) and that in 1289 he helped to quell the revolt of Shiliemen (*Yuan Shih* **15**:14*a*). The date of the death of Chang Chi is not recorded. It is only noted that his wife received a title in 1317 and a gift in silver and cash (*Yuan Shih* **26**: 2*b*, 3*a*, 26).[47]

HM [631]

HM [431]

M 175x 648 ●

HM 175 648

The fact that in 1286 the granary offices were established and land taxes imposed proves that in Huangchung land was tilled. Consequently, the country must have recovered more or less from the tremendous devastation wrought by the disastrous wars, which had lasted for forty-five years preceding the conquest of Huangchung by the Chin (1131) and during their peaceful occupation of the country, which lasted for a century (1131–1227). The depleted tribes of T'u-fan, Uighurs, and Shat'o, having lost most of their herds, would have been forced to concentrate on farming in order to earn a living, and to indulge in some trade and manufacture according to the circumstances. It may be supposed that, since the time of the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols (1227), troops, accompanied by their families as was the rule, occupied the country and practiced agriculture as did previous Chinese colonists, for no

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[47] Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 160–162.

Historical Mongolia AH2

granaries existed before 1286, and no officials to provide for the subsistence of the soldiers. Moreover, it is a fact of common knowledge that Kubilai ordered the Mongol troops to farm and to defend the country at the same time.[48] This is borne out also by the fact that at the time the Ming dynasty (1368) started establishing Chinese colonies in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 55; *Annals* of Hsining **24**: 14*b*, and Monguors I: 30, 33), the conquered Mongol troops had to leave the irrigated country around the cities and were relegated to side valleys. The memory of this fateful decision, made by the Ming, was still fresh among the Monguors in 1910, and their tradition went so far as to claim their ancestors as the initial diggers of the irrigation canals and the inaugurators of agriculture in the country.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

We get the confirmation of this fact from the celebrated Marco Polo, who with his father Nicolo and his uncle Matteo, went to Hsining in 1274, on his way from Venice to Peking. He writes, "the population of this country consists chiefly of idolators (Shamanists, lamaists) but there are also some Mohammedans and Christians (Nestorians) . . . the inhabitants employ themselves in trade and manufacturing. They have grain in abundance."[49]

M 175x 113 HM 175 113

Probably Marco Polo made this statement because the Mongol troops and the Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o farmed in Huangchung. This text proves also that probably during the century of peace preceding the conquest of Hsining by the Mongols, some Mohammedans and Nestorians from Turkistan had returned to Hsining, which they had known since the time of Chiossulo (1038), to engage in trade.

HM [241]

However, because the note of Marco Polo dates from 1274, we have to consider that during the campaigns of Chingis Khan in Turkistan, which had started in 1209, the Mongols had come in close contact with Mohammedans and Uighurs.[50] The influence exerted at court by the Mohammedan Yalavach is well known. It was so striking that Empress Toragana had to remove and demote him at the time he tried to impede the succession of Guyuk to Ogodei, planned by the empress.[51]

M 175x HM 175

According to H. F. Schurmann, in the early years of the Mongolian rule in North China a great number of Central Asiatic merchants had moved into China and organized in the corporation known as "Ortaq." Ortaq means "partner" or companion. These merchants were financial "partners" of members of the imperial family and nobility, from whom they received sizable amounts of silver as loans. This capital they used to expand their trade activities. In addition, many of them func-

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M 175x 652 HM 175 652

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[48] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 562.

[49] *The travels of Marco Polo*, translated and edited by W. Marsden, reedited by Thomas Right, 135–138, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent, London, 1950.

[50] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 483.

[51] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 276, 306.

M 175x [652] HM 175 [652]

tioned as tax farmers who collected revenues and taxes from the appanages of their benefactors. The financial administration of the appanages prior to the year 1260 was in the hands of the feudatories and not in the hands of the imperial government. After 1260 the situation changed radically; the newly established central government by Kubilai took over the financial administration of all parts of the realm. The revenues of the feudatories from their appanages were collected by officials of the central government and then turned over to the feudatories.[52] Consequently, Mohammedans must have lived in Hsining since 1260, caring for the control of the appanage of Chang Chi, and it is quite possible that other Mohammedans and Uighur Nestorians would have moved to Huangchung to indulge in trade during the Mongol period, even long before 1260. Later it will be noted that during the Mongol period Mohammedan Salars and the clan of the later Yeh T'u-ssu moved into Huangchung.

In the *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*, is still noted the appointment in 1303 of the Prince of Hsining, Ch'u Pei,[53] as commander of all the troops of Kansu. However, no movement of troops is noted.

Also it is recorded in 1324 that Ch'u Pei rescued from famine the troops of the Prince of Hsi-p'ing (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8*b*). Ao-lu-ch'ih, Prince of Hsi-p'ing, had died soon after 1303 in Ninghsia, his son Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia had inherited the title of his father, and later in 1337 the grandson Kuan-pu-pa. Thus Pu-ti-ma-ti-chia received help from Hsining and his troops were garrisoned in Lan, Kuan, and Lingwu.[54]

The *Annals* of Hsining note that in 1329 to Sulaiman[55] was granted the title of Prince of Hsining (and not of Hsip'ing), and that in 1332 on account of his military achievements, the emperor created four appointments of "preceptor of the prince." A seal was cast and bestowed upon the prince by the emperor. However, Sulaiman never lived in Hsining.

M 175x 648 HM 175 648

Two names of pacifiers of T'u-fan are also mentioned in the *Annals* of Hsining 22: 3*b*, Chin-ch'a-t'ai[56] and Cho-chi-ssu-pan.

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[52] H. F. Schurmann, reviewing Herbert Franke's Geld and Wirtschaft in China der Mongolenherrschaft, in H.J.O.A.S., Vol. 15, June 25.

[53] *Yuan Shih* **21**: 6*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 113 and **107**: 92, 8.

[54] *Hsin Yuan Shih* **114**: 7*b*, 8*a*, *b*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 141-143.

[55] *Yuan Shih* **36**: 4*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **31B**: 9*a*; Hambis, *op. cit.* **108**: 103.

[56] Chin Ch'a-t'ai was the second son of Kochkar, great-grandson of Barchug, idukut (chief) of an Uighur tribe, which pledged allegiance to Chingis Khan in 1209 in Turkistan. The tribe remained faithful to the Mongol dynasty. Chin Ch'a-t'ai in 1318, refused the titles of Idukut and of prince of Kao Ch'ang, granted to his nephew T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-huo, who asked the emperor to bestow them upon his uncle (Hambis, *op. cit.* **8**: 132, note 3; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **116**: 7*b*).

Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1372 in memory of Prince Hindu, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **12** (142): 1 sq., June, 1949.

In Kuei Te, south of Hsining, on the bank of the Yellow River, a fortress had been built and a garrison established by the troops of Huangchung during the period Chih-yuan (between 1335 and 1340), in order to prevent inroads in Huangchung by T'u-fan or Tanghsiang from East Kansu. Terrible famines, started in 1337, desolated East Kansu for years, and T'u-fan plundered East Kansu, pillaging more than two hundred cities and villages (*Annals* of Hsining 9: 11*b; Annals* of Kansu 46: 21*b*). Another important fortress was built 140 li west of the city of Yung Nan, northwest of Hsining, called the triangle city (San-chiao-ch'eng) and a strong garrison established. It controlled the routes leading from Kokonor to Suchow, Kanchow and Liangchow, I-chi-nai and Ch'ih-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 18*a–b*) and prevented inroads of T'u-fan and attacks of Mongols during the terrible revolt of Kaidu against Kubilai.

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In both *Annals* nothing is noted relating to lamas traveling through Huangchung troubling the people, as is noted concerning lamas traveling through East Kansu on their way from Lhasa to Peking. Maybe the lamas knew that the country was too poor and entirely devastated and so they preferred to travel through East Kansu.

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These are the poor records collected in the *Annals* of Hsining and of the province of Kansu, concerning the history of Huangchung during the period of the Yuan. No records are available, as is the case for the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, relating to the distribution and amount of land, salt, and mill taxes, or relating to the exchange of tea against horses, bureaus for which were established in East Kansu, in T'ao Chou and Kung-ch'ang (*Annals* of Hsining 17: 36). No records are available concerning the size of the population, the number of tribes living in the country, or the economic situation, or even the building of a single school or of Confucian or Taoist temples. There is only noted the existence of the Buddhist temple Ta Fo Ssu (*Annals* of Hsining 15: 1*b*) built by the ancestors of the Li t'u-ssu clan during the Yuan period (Monguors II: 14). However, in the *Annals* it is carefully recorded that the Ming started with the erection of schools, the building of cities and hotels for the officials (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 4*b*, 6*a*, 10*a*), and so we may conclude that during the last years of the Sung dynasty and the ravaging wars waged by tribes for forty-five years, enraged against the Chinese, taking and retaking and destroying cities, etc., few public institutions and buildings would have been left in the cities, and that nothing would have been done by the Yuan for the reconstruction of the country. The Mongol troops engaged in agriculture guarded the thinly populated country. That the country was thinly populated is borne out by the fact that the Ming rewarded lamas for alluring Tibetans to settle in the country (Monguors II: 16, 17), and also by the fact that two cities, situated

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[illegible]

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HM 175

south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

M 701 175x

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

M [622]

M 175x 648
HM 175 648

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

M 175x

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alledynasty, must have deeply impressed the other Kansu 175^x princes and officials, who had also received the same invitation to surrender. In the same year another Monguor prince of Huangchung, member of the imperial family, Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, surrendered. He had been appointed by the Yuan emperor guardian of the region 90 li south of Hsining, had discharged the office of myriarch with golden badge and purple tassel, was official of the Li-wen-so of the province of Kansu and enjoyed the title of duke. His subjects numbered 800 families organized in four tribes, scattered in many villages in the region south of Hsining, noted for the forays of savage and predatory Tibetans (Monguors I: 53; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 9*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35). He was the first among the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung who surrendered.

In 1370, on the third moon, K'uo K'uo Timur at- 175^x
tacked with a new army the Ming troops in the Lan- 648
chow region, but suffered a crushing defeat at Shen- 669
erh-ku, at the hand of Su Ta. Here 1,800 princes and officials were taken prisoner and 80,000 soldiers died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 22*b*). General Li Wen-chung, moving from Peking in pursuit of the Yuan emperor, reached in the fifth moon of the same year, the imperial family in Yin-ch'ang, where the last emperor of the Yuan had died a month before. He took prisoner the grandson of the emperor, the empresses, and princesses, etc. Only the heir apparent to the throne escaped toward Karakorum.

Su Ta seized the opportunity of his victory to send 175^x
all over the country Hsiu Yung-te, secretary general 648
of the administrative organ of Shensi province, again inviting the officials to submit, while he continued the conquest of the cities and regions situated in the southeast of Kansu. Here the Yuan had established Hsuan-wei-sse (pacification commanderies) and many myriarchies and chyliarchies, with Mongol incumbents endowed with hereditary titles, commanding a thousand or ten thousand soldiers with their families. The administrative center of the country was Ho Chou (*Yuan Shih* **60**: 10*a,b*; *Hsin Yuan Shih* **48**: 8-11).

The invitation to submission reached fruition, for in the sixth moon the Tibetan Suo-nan-pu, who had filled during the Yuan the important office of pacification commander and controlled forty-eight Tibetan tribes, arrived at the headquarters of General Teng Yu, offering the emblems and documents of his office, received from the Yuan. Later the name Ho was granted to him and the office of assistant commander of the commanderies of Ho Chou and Wei Chou. Together with the powerful Suo-nan-pu the Tibetan tribes living in the districts of Chi Ch'eng, T'ao Chou, and Min Chou, and the eighteen tribes of Chieh and Wen Chou surrendered.

In the same sixth moon, the Prince of Wu Ching, Bu Ma La, pacifier of the western regions, descendant of Ao-lu-ch'ih, the seventh son of Kubulai, following in the wake of the Lu and Ch'i princes, surrendered with all the Tibetan tribes subject to him.[59]

In the eighth moon, after receiving the invitation conveyed by the "interpreter introducer" Kung-k'o So-nan, the prince of Kao Ch'ang, Huo Chang, and the prince of Ch'i, Sang Ko, and Dorjibal, surrendered with their subjects.[60]

In 1371, on the third moon, another conquered Mongol prince, T'o-li-pe-lai, was sent to the still unconquered Mongol officials in Kansu with summons to transfer their allegiance to the new Ming dynasty. The repeated sending of messengers with summons for peaceful surrender, and the ceaseless surrender of Mongol princes and officials in Kansu, point to the presence of the tremendous number of Mongols living in that province at that time, mixed with Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, and at the number of officials who still seemed to "wait and see."

GENERAL SURRENDER OF THE MONGUOR OFFICIALS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Monguor officials in Huangchung still waited, despite the two summonses they had received in 1369 and 1370. To be sure an atmosphere of dark apprehension and portent must have hung over Huangchung after the flight of the imperial family, the capture of the capital, the creation of the new dynasty, the crushing defeats of the armies of K'uo K'uo Temur and the daily surrender of Mongol princes and officials east and west in their neighborhood. They must have realized that no peg remained on which to hang a last shred of hope for the restoration of their crumbled dynasty, and that a return toward Mongolia boded hopeless ills. In many councils there must have been discussed on the one hand all those fateful circumstances, and the presence at their very door of the victorious armies of Su Ta. On the other hand they must have appreciatively considered the fact of the reappointment in their former offices of the conquered officials. Then unexpectedly, in the third moon in 1371, was delivered the last summons to surrender, by the Mongol Prince T'o-li-pe-lai. This time the decision was readily taken; the officials would submit and remain the guardians of the country in behalf of the new emperor.

On the fifth moon the Mongol, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who controlled twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols composed of 700 families settled near Nien-pe in Ta-tse-

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[59] *Ming Shih*, 331, 1*b*; *Ming Hung-wu Shih-lu*, 53, 15.

[60] Huo Chang is a descendant in the eighth generation of the Uighur chief Barchuk, who submitted to Chingis Khan in Turkistan in 1209. From Nanuril, his descendant of the fourth generation, who died in 1318, and was the first Prince of Kao-ch'ang, the list of successions is confusing. The same is true of Sangko and Dorjibal. Sangko is noted as Prince of Kao-Ch'ang and Dorjibal as Prince of Ch'i!

Hambis, *op. cit.* 108: 7, 50, 132, 133; *Hsin Yuan Shih* 116: 5*b*, 7*a*, 9*b*; F. W. Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, 25 sq., H.J.A.S., Vol. 1949, N. 1-2.

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant 175x
official of the administrative body of the province of 648
Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

> I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world 175x
> who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them of- 671
> fices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was [614
rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, 553]
when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 175x
families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, 622
the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 614
963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

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[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of 175x
them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated 614
the mountain passes they had to defend.

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 [70]]
t'u-ssu are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors.

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow 175x
River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered 563
two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) 648
who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23).

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in 175x
Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them 563
relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming.

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order 175x
to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of 648
Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their

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[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

own troups, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. 175ˣ 648 ● The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining [669] chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by 173 614 both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9*a*–*b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the 173
titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun 614
tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the 764
third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen- 173
yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh- 614
k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogi- [113]
cal record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed 175*
by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe [648] ●
of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor 614
granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of 622
Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

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[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian, to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

himself. We know for sure that 1371 was the year 175x
of his submission to the Ming, and also the time of his 614
death is historically fixed at 1488. It is hard to explain how this man has been clever enough to be an official during 117 years!

THE SPIRIT WAY STELES

In the first document it is noted that the first spirit 175x
way stele was erected in 1427 in honor of Li Nan-ko, 764
the first t'u-ssu and founding ancestor of the clan. Ac- 324
cording to the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 46*b*), Li Nan-ko died in 1407, his son Li Yin received in 1427 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and the title granted to the son was posthumously bestowed at the same time upon the father (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 10*a*. Annals of Kansu 42: 47). This distinction which, according to the Chinese mentality, primarily honored the father who had reared so glorious a son, obviously seems to have been the cause of the erection of the spirit way stele at the entrance of the clan cemetery in honor of Li Nan-ko in 1427 by Li Yin himself.

The second spirit way stele was erected in 1475 in honor of Li Yin. Li Yin probably died a few years after 1437. His son, Li Ch'ang, succeeded to his father only in 1457, on account of the discredit weighing upon the clan. Li Ch'ang died in 1493 (*Annals* of Kansu
42: 46; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 10). Emperor Hsien [648]●
Tsung only in 1475 promoted Li Ch'ang, and he honored him in a special way at his death, sending splendid funeral gifts and a funeral oration (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 2*b*) written by himself, containing the glorification of the virtues of the deceased. This oration had to be burned before the coffin as a last farewell of the emperor to his faithful subject. The distinguished promotion received from the emperor in 1475 seems to have been the reason for the erection of the spirit way stele by Li Ch'ang to his father Li Yin in 1475, the father upon whom redounded the imperial attention bestowed upon his eminent son.

THE CEMETERY OF HSIANG T'ANG

The cemetery of Hsiang T'ang is definitely the most 175x
elaborate cemetery built in the country and it is said 614
to have been erected to glorify the entire Li clan. I 764
trusted this tradition accepted by prominent scholars and officials in the country, who founded their statement on an erroneous text of the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 2*a*) claiming that both Li clans were the descendants of Li Nan-ko (Monguors I: 70, 71). However, not a single stele is encountered in the cemetery pointing to members of the Li Wen clan, which has its own ancestral cemetery at the foot of the Han P'ing mountain, situated ten li north of the city of Hsining, with steles and inscriptions (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 8*a*). This cemetery is not as elaborate as the one of the Li Nan-ko branch with its spirit way steles, etc., but

its central avenue is also bordered with stone sheep 175^x and tigers in a sad state of decay (Monguors I: 71, 614 note 57), and every year ceremonies are performed in 764 it by the entire clan, in honor of the founding ancestor Li Wen, Earl of Kao Yang, and all the subsequent t'u-ssu of his clan. The Hsiang T'ang cemetery is definitely the cemetery of the Li Nan-ko clan.

In the Hsiang T'ang cemetery is seen a mound, said to be that of Li Nan-ko, who died in 1407. However, a striking puzzle is the fact that his son, the celebrated Li Yin, Earl of Huei Ning, who died soon after 1437, is buried not in Hsiang T'ang cemetery, but in the forlorn village of Hai Shi Wan, southeast of Nienpei, where a small stele with an inscription is erected, and next to his tomb is the tomb of his son Li Ch'ang, who received promotions in 1475 and the glorifying attention [648] from the emperor at the time of his death in 1493. Still more puzzling is the fact that Li Kung, the eminent great-grandson of Li Nan-ko, the son of Li Ch'ang, who obtained the literary degree of Chin-shih in 1481 and was later promoted minister of the Shang Pao Sse, is buried in the village of Pa-chu-yuan situated southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17*a*; 27: 10–11; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*, 47*a*).

The fact that these three most eminent t'u-ssu of the [622] clan were not buried in the ancestral cemetery where two spirit way steles were erected seems to suggest that the present elaborate cemetery might have been built in later times.

No notes are available relating to the ancestors of the other chiefs of the Monguor clans.

HISTORY OF HUANGCHUNG AND THE T'U-SSU DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)

This chapter reveals on the one hand the tremendous 175^x role played by the Huangchung Monguors in the strug- 648 gle waged by the Ming dynasty against the Mongols during the nearly three centuries of its existence, which several times shook the foundations of the empire. The help they rendered to the dynasty is unprecedented in history.

On the other hand, the chapter reveals the weakness of the Ming administration in Huangchung and the ordeal the loyal and dependent Monguors had to undergo to remain faithful to it amidst the wicked and ruthless depredations against their country, disastrous forays of brigands, hunger, disease, and poverty. 175^x

T'u-ssu Li Nan-ko, after his surrender with the offi- 648 cials of Hsining in a group in 1371 and his summons 622 to court, was ordered to return to Hsining and to assume the administration of Huangchung. He controlled the country, calling on more tribes to surrender; repaired roads and bridges; organized the system of relays and the communications with the central administration; amassed grain in the public graneries, etc. The same year he defeated and took prisoner a rebel-

[P. 31(A)]

ling chieftain, Ho Chang-tsa (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9–10). M 175x 648

The commandery of Hsining was created in 1372 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). This means that Chinese officials arrived accompanied by some troops to organize the country along the Chinese pattern and to enlist the t'u-ssu in their service. 622

The Ch'i t'u-ssu, Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, who had surrendered in 1368, was sent in 1372 to the country of the salt lake in Kokonor, where the tribal chief I-lin-chen-pen had revolted. He defeated the turbulent chief and pacified and controlled the country. He induced the Mongol chief Ch'i-chih-sun to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*b; Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*). M 175x 648

The heir apparent of the Yuan, Ai-ya-shih-li-ta-la, escaping from Ying Ch'ang in 1370, had arrived at Karakorum and been proclaimed emperor. During 1371 he mustered all available troops in order to recover his lost empire. In 1372 the Ming emperor, informed about the military preparations of the Mongols, dispatched three armies, with the order to deal a decisive blow to the Mongol forces in the very heart of their domain. Troops of three t'u-ssu from Huangchung joined the second army commanded by General Feng Sheng: the troops of the Lu t'u-ssu from Lien Ch'eng, and of the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and the T'u-ssu Wang Nam-mu-ko, both from Hsining. This army administered a crushing defeat in Liangchow to the forces of the Mongol commander Shih-la-han, and in Yung Ch'ang in Ma Hu Shan, to those of T'o-erh-chih-pa, who had revolted after his surrender and from whom 300 soldiers and 400 horses were captured. Then the troops delivered a severe defeat to the Mongol commander Pu-hua and captured 8,000 families. They went to I-chi-nai-lu (in the Gobi) where they defeated the Mongol Prince Pao Tsang and pursued fleeing Mongols until Kua and Sha Chou. The t'u-ssu troops returned to Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*–44*b;* Ming Shih, Biography Fu Yu-te 129: 8; Pokotilov, 7–8).[70] HM 175 648 HM [722]

The expedition of General Feng Sheng in 1372, with his enlisted t'u-ssu troops, was the first attempt by the Ming to conquer the region of the corridor stretching from Liang and Kan Chou to Turkistan. The corridor, bordered on the north by the Gobi desert, the homeland of the nomads, was exposed to recurrent invasions of Mongols from the desert waste, and during three centuries the t'u-ssu of Huangchung would be ordered to repel their forays. M 175x 648

In 1373 the Mongol Prince Pu-yen-pu-hua, endowed with the title of Prince of Ning by the Mongol emperors, had been appointed by them administrator of the region of An-ting (Turkistan). In 1370 he had re-

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[70] D. Pokotilov, *The history of the Eastern Mongols during the Ming from 1368–1634,* translated from the Russian by Rudolf Loewenthal, Chengtu, China, West China University, 1947.

175x 648

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to surrender. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates arrived at court with the submission. The following year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 23*b; Annals* of Hsining **31**: 9*b*).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 9*b*).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of General Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was administered. The rebel managed to escape. The emperor invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to participate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surrendered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin, with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liangchow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000 of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kanchow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the southern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500 horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 15*b; Annals* of Kansu **57**: 2*a*). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 9*a; Annals* of Kansu **46**: 25*b*), who also devastated the Kokonor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was ordered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

175x 647 231 437 272

The year 1378 was very important on account of the establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be exchanged in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds 175x
of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. 647
Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite num- 231
ber of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71] 437

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 272
in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17 : 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses can- 175x
not be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means 443
for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure 231
tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without 272
tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange 175x
of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all 443
over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of at- 175x
tracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered 443
tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact busi- 648
ness. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were 175x
ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu 648
Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

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[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General 175
Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful 648
Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers 619
were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu 7: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to [563]
find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

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[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10–11.

[p. 33(A)]

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built. 175x 619 648 [630]

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*). [861 [346] 651]

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses. [345]

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380. [241 233]

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*). 175x 619

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG 175x

653 701 231

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 25: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 14[illegible], a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14a records [illegible] 175x 648 [624]

[P. 34 (A)]

noting a date that on account of the small population 175ˣ
and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors 648
had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time.

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming [70]
to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining.

Necessarily more civil and military officials had ar- 175ˣ
rived and new administrative organs had to be created, 633
since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung.

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his 175ˣ
return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the 648
rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*).

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 2*b*; 42: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*; 27: 9*b*; 24: 7*b*; 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

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[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

[p.34(B)]

FIRST LAMASERY BUILT BY EMPEROR—CREATION OF BOARD OF LAMAS 175^{x} 648 ● 792

The lama San la of Hsining wrote a letter to the tribes of Han Tun to induce them to surrender and some tribes did so. The Annals of Hsining **15**: 12*a*, note the surrender of the tribes, the tribute of horses offered by them, the appointment of Lama San la as chief of the surrendered tribes, the building of a lamasery south of Nien Pei, the name of Ch'u T'an bestowed upon the lamasery by the emperor, the first creation of the Board of Lamas in Hsining, and the appointment of San la as its director (Monguors II: 16–17). The example set by the emperor encouraged many lamas to act in the way of San la, attracting tribes to move into Huangchung, etc. So nan chi li ssu, the chief of the Han Tun tribes which did not follow the exhortations of San la, surrendered later, in 1397, and their chief was appointed Chih huei ch'ien shih in Han Tun. In the *Annals* of Hsining **15**: 1*b*, is noted an inscription "appeased Tibetans" bestowed by the emperor upon the temple Ta-fu-ssu, built in Hsining during the Yuan by the ancestors of the Shat'o Li Nan-ko (Monguors II: 14), and there is recorded the building of the temple Kung-t'ung ssu in the city (*Annals* of Hsining **15**: 2*a*). At the end of the same year T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expedition of General Lan Yu against the rebel Mongol Yueh Lu Timur in Chien Ch'ang in Szechwan province. The rebel was captured and killed (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*; **46**: 25*b*).

DEATH OF EMPEROR T'AI TSUNG (HUNG-WU), 1398

T'ai Tsung, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, died in 1398. 175^{x} $\boxed{160}$ 648

Since 1371, the date of the submission of the t'u-ssu of Huangchung, the circumstances of the country had changed entirely, the economy had developed, the population had increased, and the influence of lamaism had extended, thanks to the granting of titles and domains to lamas and the founding of peculiar institutions for those among them who induced tribes to submit and to move into the country (Monguors II: 16–18). However, the most important increase of the population was caused by the moving into Huangchung of 7,200 families of Chinese soldiers, numbering 15,854 persons, during the Hung Wu period, to start the first military colonies (*Annals* of Hsining **16**: 15*a*). The civil and military administration of the country had progressively been organized and the conquest of Huangchung stabilized. During the Hung Wu period the Monguor t'u-ssu had proved their faithfulness to the Ming dynasty. They had promoted the stabilization of the country and fought for the empire in the farflung provinces of Liaotung, Yunnan, Szechwan, and Turkistan, and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh had

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175x
648

discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

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175x
[578]
643

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

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175x
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614
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Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liaotung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

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175x
648

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liangchow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

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175x
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HM
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648

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[75]

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[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

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HM
175
648

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods[76] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 37*a*). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; **42**: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 2*a*).

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[136]

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

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[703]

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

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[75] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* **3**: 1-54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58-104. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 195[illegible] Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* **76** (2): 82-89, 1956.

[76] Asod-Alains, originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

Historical Mongolia AH2

M 175x 648 628 HM 175 648

against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

M [624]

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

M 175x 648 [624] HM 175 648

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

HM [643]

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shih-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-old imperial policy to sow strife among the tribes, making them destroy each other. Yung Lo was as frightened of a Mongol power under the leadership of an offspring of the old Chingis Khan family as of one under the leadership of a rising new and tremendous Oirat group. He decided to launch a campaign against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. M 175x 648 HM 175 648

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[77] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5–6.

[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

On April 6, 1414, the emperor himself led the campaign and administered a blow to Ma-ha-mu who escaped in the desert. The emperor was back in Peking on August 15. The Monguor troops of Huangchung had again been called to participate in the expedition. In the following years Alut'ai administered a defeat to the weakened Ma-ha-mu, who died in 1416. Then the emperor recognized the succession of Togon to his father Ma-ha-mu, as chief of the Oirats, and bestowed upon him the title of his father. The flames of hatred of A-lu-t'ai were fanned again against the Oirats and China. In the meantime A-lu-t'ai had secured the help of the Urianghai tribes living on the northern borders of China, which had transferred their allegiance from China to him. He had considered himself strong enough to antagonize China openly. M [643] HM [554]

On April 12, 1422, the emperor started on a third campaign in Mongolia, this time against A-lu-t'ai, and called the Monguor troops. On the arrival of the strong Chinese army, A-lu-t'ai escaped in the desert waste, and the frustrated emperor vented his rage upon the unfaithful Urianghai tribes. The Monguors fought on the borders of the Wu-lang River in Liao-tung and in the Toyen district under command of T'u-ssu Li Yin. T'u-ssu Lu, having captured the Mongol chief Alahan on the Han t'an River, was rewarded with titles, silver, and silk clothes (family chronicle). M [643] M HM [702]

In 1423 the emperor resolved to finish definitely with A-lu-t'ai and started personally with a fourth expedition, calling the Huangchung troops. T'u-ssu Lu, on his way to the north, passed through the country of Ho-lan-shan and encountered the Mongol Prince Chung T'ung and troops of Yeh-hsien, which he captured. Just at the time the expedition was on the move, the Oirat chief Togon administered a blow to A-lu-t'ai, who escaped in the Gobi. The emperor understood that the expedition was doomed. He returned to Peking on December 9.

In 1424 A-lu-t'ai, despite the defeats he had suffered, was still strong enough to plunder the borders of the empire. The frustrated and enraged emperor decided to equip and lead a fifth expedition. All available troops were mustered and the expedition moved the second of May. A-lu-t'ai again vanished in the desert. The Mongols proved once more not to be easy game. The despondent emperor died on his way back to Peking, in Yu-mu-ch'uan, on August 18.[79]

In 1423 a Tibetan lama, Chang ta lama, was living in Hsining, appointed by Emperor Yung Lo as a translator of Tibetan texts. His morals were dissolute. He M 175x 648 appropriated the tributes brought by chiefs of Tibetan 175x tribes, protected and hid people prosecuted by the courts 648 of justice, and for more than ten years had fostered subversive influences. T'u-ssu Li Yin, discharged at that time the duty of Chi-hui ch'ien-shih in Hsining, conversant with these facts, killed the lama and his family. The country again enjoyed peace (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 10*a*).

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[79] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 28-32; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-12.

[P.37(A)]

During the Yung Lo period (1403–1425) the military 175x colonies of Huangchung did not increase in number. 161 The same 7,200 families are recorded as at the end of 592 the Hung-wu period. However, the number of persons constituting these families had decreased by 3,000 (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 15*a*). During the same period four [712] more temples had been built in Huangchung: Yung-hsing-ssu, situated five li north of the city of Hsining, 1410; Hua-tsang-ssu situated south of the city, 1410; Tsang-chin-ssu situated in the southwestern corner of the city, and Kuang-fu-kuan in the northwestern corner of the city, 1426 (*Annals* of Kansu **30**: 45*b*, 46*a*). Emperor Yung Lo had established in the valley of Sha t'ang, 80 li northeast of Hsining, controlled by the Li [233] t'u-ssu, some pasturage for cavalry horses. In 1378 after the institution of the exchange bureau of tea against horses, 3,500 horses were acquired for the cavalry every year, and had to be fed on pasture.

T'U-SSU LI YIN

In 1426 Li Yin again was ordered to muster the 175x Monguor troops, and to equip an expedition with the 648 Chih-hui K'ang Chou, against the tribes of Anting and Ch'u Hsien (the old Tunhuang region), in which country the Chinese ambassadors Ch'iao Li-sse and Teng Ch'eng had been plundered and murdered on their way to Turkistan. The Monguor t'u-ssu who participated in the expedition under the command of Li Yin were Li Wen (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Lu, t'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 29*b*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*b*), t'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*b*), Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*a*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*; *Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*). T'u-ssu Chou died on the field of battle during the expedition. Li Yin knew from first-hand information that the commanders of Anting, Ah-san-hsun-san-ho, and San-chi-ssu of Ch'u Hsien were the murderers. He led the army straight to their countries. The murderers fled with their tribes. Li Yin pursued them to the K'unlun mountains, and continued the pursuit several hundred li more, to the Ya-lin pass. There he administered a crushing defeat to them, capturing 1,100 men and 140,000 head of cattle. The brigands of Ch'u Hsien fled further on, but the Prince of Anting, Sang-erh-chia shih-lan, scared to death, went to court to confess his fault.

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 800

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 175x
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 648 ●
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the [702]
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: *47a; Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu **30**: 45*a–b; Annals* of Hsining **35**: 6*a–b*):

> In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
> way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
> Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
> won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of [702]
> the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude [776]
> for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple. [795]
>
> One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

M
175x
211
539
[703]

devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

M
175x
614
626

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

M
175x
648

M
[578]

M
[698]

M
[626]

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

M
175x
648
HM
175
648

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats was achieved. It would reach the summit of its power M 175x again under the son of Togon, Esen, who was assassinated 648● in 1455. Then the hegemony would be recovered HM by the eastern Mongols in 1470, after internal 175 troubles had arisen among the Oirat tribes themselves. 648

After the death of A-lu-t'ai in 1434 his tribes separated: one group under the leadership of the Khan At'ai settled in I-chi-nai (500 li north of Kanchow), and one group, controlled by T'o-erh-chih-pa, settled in Yeh-k'o-lin-sha-erh-t'an, west of Liangchow. These groups would be the scourge of the countries of northwest Kansu for many years to come. A-lu-t'ai had already made forays in Liangchow in 1428. T'u-ssu Chao M (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*) and Chi (*Annals* of Kansu [631] **42**: 42*a*) had been ordered to fight his turbulent tribes in I-pu-la-shan. In 1433, on account of the insecurity in the country, the commandery of Hsining had been reorganized in Chun-ming chih-huei-shih, six *so* had been established and the villages grouped in four *li*.

In 1435 T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and Lu had been ordered to join the expedition of Commander Wang Kui against the tribes of At'ai and T'o-erh-chih-pa in Chengfan, Tsing-shih-shan, and Ho-shan. In 1436 a new expedition was launched against the same Mongol tribes, in which T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*b*), and Wang participated (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*). Then the tribes of At'ai invaded the country of Chuang-lang (P'ing-fan) but were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu, who pursued them to I-pu-la-shan.

In 1437 the same turbulent Mongol groups invaded Liangchow and Chuang-lang again, they were beaten by T'u-ssu Lu and Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*) in Tu-pei-ku and Mi-ho-ch'uan and 1,000 of their horses were captured. In 1438 the same brigands suffered a severe blow in Wei-yun, Pei-ya-wu, and I-pu-la-shan, at the hands of T'u-ssu Lu and Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

The Monguors during these times were the faithful defenders not only of northwest Kansu but also of the most western Chinese frontiers, in the commanderies of Han Tung, Ch'u Shien, An Ting, and Ah Tuan. After the successful expedition of Li Yin in 1426, in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, the petty tribes living in this area sustained themselves by pillage and robbery.

In 1429 the Governor of Hsining, Shih Chao, was ordered to prepare an expedition against the Chu-shien and Anting tribes whose chiefs still intercepted and plundered envoys bringing tribute to court. T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 51*a*), Li Wen (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Wang M (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 41*b*), and Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* [726] of Kansu **42**: 45*a*) joined the expedition. The fleeing tribes were pursued, severely beaten and 340 of their

brigands captured. The army returned with a booty of M 175x
300,000 camels, horses, sheep, and cows (*Annals* of 648 ●
Kansu **42**: *26b, 27a*). [726]

Se-ngo-ko, chief of a Tibetan tribe, was accustomed HM
to stealing horses of neighboring tribes. The commander 175
of Hsining, Mu Su, could not apprehend him. Later 648
the thief arrived at Hsining to sell horses. The commander [685]
seized the horses, convinced they were stolen ones, but they were his own. The tribes were upset and about to start a revolt. Li Wen accused the imprudent commander, and the tribes were pacified. Li Wen was promoted (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*).

In 1442 T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*) was ordered to garrison the commanderies of Ah-tuan and Ch'u-hsien, to protect Anting, and to induce the scattered tribes to come back to their lands and surrender. In 1445 the Oirat chief Esen, who had succeeded his father Togon, who had died in 1439, attacked and occupied Hami. In 1447 Ch'i Hsien (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 45*a*; *Annals* of Hsining **31**: 12*b*), t'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*), and t'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of commander Jen I in Sha Chou. In 1448 Wa lo, chief of the Tibetan Pa-sha tribes started plundering Huangchung. T'u-ssu Ch'i Hsien was ordered to fight Wa lo. He succeeded in killing the chief. These tribes had submitted in 1380, their chief controlled 30 or more tribes, which inhabited a country as large as 500 li, starting 60 li north of Hsining and running to the borders of the Ta-t'ung River. Pa Sha was ill-famed for its predatoriness (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 13*a*; **19**: 7*b*). In 1450 T'u-ssu Chao and T'u-ssu Lu repelled Mongol invaders in Kao-ssu-yuan (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*b*). In 1452 T'u-ssu Ch'eng followed commander Su Chieh, fighting Mongols who were plundering Nan-chuan. They pursued them to Su-wu-shan and captured their chiefs (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*).

During the Cheng T'ung period (1436–50) at the time the northwestern part of Kansu was riven by inroads of Mongols and the t'u-ssu were fighting the Mongols in Kansu and in Turkistan, Liu Ch'uan, commander in Kuei Te (situated south of Hsining on the southern borders of the Yellow River), induced 72 M
tribes of Tibetans to surrender, promoted cultivation [437
and farming among them, established a tea bureau and 491]
every year exchanged 1,740 horses for tea, protected the traders and the communications in the country, built a route and relays connecting the important city of Ho Chou with Kuei Te. The country of Kuei Te was at peace and the people enjoyed the trustful and honest commander (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 16*a*).

The chronicles of the Lu t'u-ssu clan note that during M 175x
1450–1464 raids had to be intermittently repelled along 579
the Liangchow and Kanchow borders, perpetrated by HM
the same eastern Mongol groups and some Oirat 175
groups, which ventured to lay waste and devastate even 579

Chuang-lang, Ch'ing-yang, and East Kansu. The raids furnished to the invaders a considerable amount of loot and fostered their predatory instincts. The example set by the Mongols whetted the appetite for plunder among the Tibetan tribes also. The people lived in desperate conditions, and the t'u-ssu troops had always to be ready to comply with the orders of military commanders.

M 175x [579] HM 175 [579] M [511]

This note, recorded in the Lu chronicles, is quite acceptable for the reason that during just these years a tremendous confusion reigned in Mongolia, and the Mongol tribes located along the Kanchow and Liangchow borders had nobody to care for them, for the Oirats, now at the summit of their power, had thought themselves strong enough to challenge the Chinese empire.

HEIGHT OF OIRAT HEGEMONY

M 175x HM 175 M HM 622 648 [662] 668

To Esen, the powerful Oirat chief, had been promised an imperial princess by the eunuch Wang Chen, the favorite of the emperor. He had not notified the emperor of this promise and when the envoys of Esen arrived at court with the nuptial presents they were refused. In the autumn of 1449 the humiliated Esen began raids on the empire frontiers and approached Ta-t'ung. An army of half a million men was raised in a hurry, and sent against the Oirats. The emperor accompanied the army. His troops were routed, the emperor was taken prisoner, the remnants of the army tumbled back to Peking, and the capital was in jeopardy. Ching Ti, the brother of Emperor Ying Tsung, ascended the throne in 1450. The Oirats were unable to seize the capital. After endless deliberations, the released imperial prisoner reentered Peking in the eighth moon, after an absence of one year.

Esen, swollen with pride after his resounding victory over the empire, his ambition soaring to the throne, proclaimed himself emperor of the Mongols in 1454; but two of his commanders revolted against him in 1455, he fled and was killed the same year. For the time being the balance of political power of the Oirats shifted to the eastern Mongols who struggled again for the hegemony. One of the commanders who had killed Esen was killed by Polai, a tribal chieftain of the Ta-tan Mongols. Po-lai enthroned a new Khan, Markorgis, the son of T'o-to-pu-hua, known under the name of Hsiao-wang-tsu, the little king, and began with raids on the frontiers of the empire.[80]

In 1457 Emperor Ching Ti fell ill, the secluded Yin Tsung ascended the throne for the second time and thereafter his brother died.

T'U-SSU LI WEN

M 175x 648

The same year T'u-ssu Li Wen arrived at Peking from Hsining with his army, to congratulate Yin Tsung on his second ascension to the throne, and to present 175 his offices in these times of troubles which beset the 648 ● empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two [624] thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao [554] Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and de- [681] liberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

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[80] H. Serruys, *op. cit.*, 85; Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of 175ˣ Li Wen? 662

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450– 578 1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching 175ˣ Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the 668 illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. [787] It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, pro- [657] claimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta- [illegible]

Historical Mongolia AH2

M

The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was bypassed. 175x Deeming that he had provided the judges with 648 the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yenan and in Suei-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to tutu T'ung chih. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465–1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488–1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506–1521) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 12*a*). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals* of Hsining 24: 8*b*). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being M enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor [554] promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions M one after another, and after his death in 1493 an imperial [554] funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

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After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire 175 reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, [578] conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols 648 and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independ-

HM 175 648

ent. They secured the help of the Urianghai tribes whose chief was Tolohan. They appointed their Khan (Hsiao-wang-tze) and incessantly made inroads on the borders of the empire, seizing rich booty. Po-lai killed Hsiao-wang-tze and Mao-li-hai killed Po-lai. The Ordos Mongols appointed the Khan Mantulu who defeated Tolohan and Mao-li-hai. The latter died on the battlefield and dissension continued unabated. In 1470 the widow of Mantulu secured the proclamation of Dayan as sovereign of the Mongols and controlled the tribes herself. Dayan, a boy seven years of age, was the only descendant of the house of Kubilai. He married in 1481 and was proclaimed Khan of the Great Yuan (1470–1543). He united and laboriously grouped the tribes in right and left wings and divided and appanaged them among his sons. The eastern Mongols seemed united, but each time at the death of the father, the appanage was divided among the sons and so the power of the appanages and tribes diminished after each division, and sons and cousins were torn with inner conflicts. At the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644) the tribes had become an easy prey for the new rulers of China.

HM [422]

M 175 x 648 ●

In 1450 the eastern Mongols under the leadership of the chieftain Ah-lo-ch'u had started settling in Ordos and in 1457 were firmly established there.[81] From Ordos they could more easily make inroads into Huangchung, Shansi, Shensi, etc. Desperate times were to be expected for Huangchung. However, the Monguor t'u-ssu and their subjects stood faithful and loyal as a rock, defending the dynasty for two more centuries.

HM 175 648

The strong Tibetan Pa Sha tribe of Huangchung, which lived in tents between the Tatung River and the city of Tatung, had surrendered in 1380, and whose chief had been killed by Ch'i Hsien during his raid in 1448, started a raid in 1457 on a large scale, just at the time the Ta-t'an Po-lai, chief of the western Mongols, invaded the frontiers of Ninghsia (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). They raided the countries of Liangchow, Yung Ch'ang and Chuang Lang, and on their way home devastated and plundered the country of Huangchung, killing Chinese officials and capturing a huge number of cattle of the surrendered Tibetan tribes. Finally the Chinese troops from the commanderies of Kansu arrived, and administered a crushing defeat, killing 7,700 Pa Sha brigands (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 7*a–b;* 31: 12*b*). The Lu t'u-ssu had defended Chuang Lang and the other t'u-ssu had defended their own villages.

. In 1461 Po-lai with an army of more than 10,000 Mongols arrived at Chuang Lang and made forays in Liangchow. The Chinese army was defeated, but more troops arrived and beat Po-lai who sent envoys suing for peace. Every year he sent tribute, but continued his raids. T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*), t'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), and t'u-ssu

HM [723]

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[81] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 72.

Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army. M 175^{x} 648

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a; Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*). HM 175 648

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*). M [371]

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

M 175^{x} 648 703
In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."*

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

M 175^{x} 727
In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a–b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the

northern valley, and Ku Shan and San Ch'uan second M 175 x
captains. In the city of Hsining there were appointed 727
a secretary commandant, a high commandant, seven assistant commandants, seven secretary commandants (among them are noted many t'u-ssu) a director of education, and a secretary. In Nienpei was appointed a Chiliarch with seven under-chiliarchs, nine centurions, twenty-nine second centurions. In Hsining a general director was appointed in each of the departments: for graneries, feed for horses, taxes, and exchange bureaus, in each of the seven relays. These regulations seem to suggest that Huangchung was no more a depopulated and uninteresting country. However, the appointment of the overwhelming number of military officials seems to suggest that the authority did not deem the peace prospects to be very bright, and that more troubles had to be expected.

In 1484 the Ordos Mongols made a raid in Yung M 175 x
Ch'ang. T'u-ssu Lu defended the country and was 648 ●
beseiged in the city for several days. He made sallies HM
one after another and succeeded in escaping. More 175
raids were made in Liangchow and P'ing Liang in 1497 648
and in Kanchow in 1498 by Hsiao Wang-tze. T'u-ssu Lu, T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35), and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) helped the Chinese commander administer a severe blow to the raider.

T'u-ssu Lu participated in an expedition in 1499 against the eighteen tribes (Uighur Shat'o) of Chieh Chou in south Kansu, and sent prisoners to the capital. In the same year T'su-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*b*) and T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38) participated in the expedition against Ordos brigands in Pei-ta-ch'uan (Ling Chou).

T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to chase the Mongols who obstructed the communications along the route leading from Yung-ch'ang to Kanchow and Suchow. Ch'i T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu [illegible]: 35), back from the expedition in Pei-ta-ch'uan [illegible] 1499, was ordered to accompany the Governor Yin Ch'ing, investing in Hami the Prince Chung Shun, Shenpa, as chief of the country (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35). In 1500 the turbulent Hsiao Wang-tze settled in Ordos, from where he continued his forays. In 1504 he raided Shuei-ts'ao-ku and Hung-ch'eng-tze and was repelled.

In 1507 Mongol brigands, passing through Ming-shuei-ku in the P'ing-liang region, were defeated by General Wu Ch'i and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35; **42**: 44).

RUIN OF HUANGCHUNG

The year 1507 was fateful in the history of Huang- M 175 x
chung and all of Kansu. It marked the ruin of the 648
whole country for a century. Until that time Huangchung and Kansu had suffered only from intermittent, transient, but disastrous raids from incursive Mongols whose aim did not reach beyond plunder. Dayan, the ambitious young Hsiao Wang-tze, who was laboriously

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Historical Tibet AJ2

M 175x 648

striving for the unification and the subjection of the tribes under his leadership, had appointed one of his sons commander of tribes. He was killed by his subjects. The rebelling chief I-pu-la, apprehensive of the vengeance of Dayan, seceded and fled with his tribes to Liangchow. He asked the commander of Liangchow to allot a territory to him and promised to live in peace with the empire. The petition was refused. The Mongols, incensed by the refusal, for ten days wreaked their vengeance, devastating and laying waste the country. On their way westward they plundered the tribes of the Prince of Anting and stole his seals and diplomas. They reached Kokonor in 1509 and occupied the territory (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 13*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*a*).

M 175x 648 HM HT 175 648

Kokonor at that time was the country of the Tibetans. The behavior of the savage Mongols was unusually ruthless. On their arrival they murdered Tibetans, reduced the young folk to the level of slaves, stole their wives and cattle. Cowed by their truculent manner, some Tibetan tribes fled to Tibet, some to East Kansu and Huangchung. The destitution of the fleeing tribes was tragic. On their way they plundered the country and Kansu was upset. But some tribes returned to Kokonor and submitted to the invaders. Being conversant with Kansu, they accompanied and led the Mongol forays and plundered in combination with them. The Tibetan tribes submitted to China and East Kansu and Huangchung were plundered. Despairing of the help of China, their ingrained predatory nature soon asserted itself and they revolted and went plundering on their own account. Every time Mongol tribes in Mongolia had a score to settle with Dayan, they seceded and fled to Kokonor adding strength to the Kokonor group.

Huangchung and East Kansu, which during the previous centuries had been laid waste and destroyed so many times, had to pass again through the ordeals of war and destruction at the hands of Mongols and rebel Tibetans for a whole century, and to have their economic life disrupted and shattered.

In 1510 T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 48*a*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40*b*), and t'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 35*a*) under command of the Lieutenant Colonel of Chuang-lang administered a blow at Hsiao Wang-tze in Huei-huei-mu and captured a considerable number of his oxen and horses. Hsiao Wang-tze pursued the seceding tribe of I-pu-la. Having met defeat at Huei-huei-mu, he was pursued to Yenan and beaten again in Shih-p'eng-ku, P'o shan-ku and T'ung-ssu-p'u.

In 1511 the Kokonor brigand I-pu-la made a raid in Yung-ch'ang and Cheng-fan, but suffered a defeat. Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*), Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49*b*), Yeh t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*) participated in the punitive expedition. From now

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on recurrent raids of Kokonor brigands will be recorded incessantly. The hardships doled out by the Monguors and t'u-ssu during a century will be tremendous.

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In the fifth moon the Kokonor brigands invaded the northern valley of Hsining and were repelled. All the *t'u-ssu* of Hsining under command of Wang Yung helped in the action. The son of T'u-ssu Li died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38*a*), in Ta-la-tu-ch'uan. T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 22) and Kan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50*b*) pursued the retreating raiders and slaughtered many among them in Hung-yang t'an.

In 1514 Tibetan tribes from around Kokonor, in combination with Mongol brigands, invaded the southern valleys of Hsining and Nienpei. All the t'u-ssu of Hsining helped Commander Chin Mao repel the invaders. However, they were severely beaten, and T'u-ssu Ch'eng died in the battle of Pien-tu-ling (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

The situation drifted to a critical point and then finally a Chinese army of 10,000 men was equipped to chase the brigands from Kokonor. The brigands, informed about the serious military preparations, left Kokonor, passed the Yellow River at Ho Chou, plundered and slaughtered savagely the subject Tibetan tribes, in the commanderies of T'ao and Ming Chou, and invaded Sung P'an and Mao Chou in Szechwan Province. When they were informed that the Chinese army had left Kokonor, they returned to Kokonor.

At that time the Hsiao Wang-tze invited I-pu-la etc., to return to their original country. Complying with the invitation, he moved his tribes to the north, but soon news was broken about the intention of Hsiao Wang-tze to kill him. He returned to Kokonor (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 13*a–b*).

In 1515 Tibetan tribes living in the mountains between Liangchow and P'ing-fan had plundered envoys from Turkistan bringing tribute to the emperor. T'u-ssu Lu was sent to punish them. He killed many of them in Sha-chin-ku and Ho-shih-ku.

The next year a group of Ordos brigands invaded and devastated Ku-yuen and P'ing-liang. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*b*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu were ordered to help in the punitive expedition.

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In 1517 many Tibetan tribes who suffered on account of the brigands felt their old predatory instinct reviving. The conditions in Huangchung grew worse every day. The chief of the Lung-pu and Wu-ssu-pa-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 13*a–b*), controlling 2,000 families, nomadizing on a territory 200 li wide between Hsining and Kokonor, revolted. The Chinese Chiliarch Li Wen quelled the revolt. Then the tribes revolted on a large scale, defeated and killed the Chiliarch. Finally the lama of the Ta-ming temple succeeded in inducing them to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 31; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 14*a*).

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Historical Tibet AJ2

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In the same year the Ko-tsa Tibetan tribe which had surrendered in 1380, whose chief controlled 400 families and nomadized southwest of Ku Shan along the northern borders of the Yellow River, plundered the lamasery of Hung-hua. Captains Kao Hsien and Yang Yu with T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4; **31**: 14) pursued and defeated the rebels in the mountains of Pa-yen-jung (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*a*).

M 113

In 1520–1521 T'u-ssu Lu twice repelled Ordos brigands invading Ku Yuan and Chuang Lang.

The very first *Annals* of Hsining composed by the scholar Chang Chih were printed in 1520 (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 15*a*).

M 175x 648 HT 175 648

The Chinese army revolted in Kanchow in 1522. The Tibetan tribes in Huangchung seized the opportunity to plunder the country (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a*). Governor Cheng Yang could not control the situation. At the same time 20,000 Ordos brigands invaded Ku Yuan, P'ing Liang, Chin Chou, killed the military officials Yang Hung and Liu Tuan, terribly devastated the country and killed and captured more than 10,000 people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 31*b*).

In 1525 Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chief, had a score to settle with Dayan. In order to avoid his vengeance he joined the I-pu-la group. On his way to Kokonor he plundered the country. He was defeated by Yang Chung aided by T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 38*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 42*a*) and T'u-ssu Kan (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 32*b*). The next year T'u-ssu Lu was impeached by the officials of Cheng-fan and Hsining. He was removed from office (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 14*a–b*; **27**: 15).

M 175x 648 723

After the officials had lost control over Huangchung in 1522 they convened to discuss these disastrous circumstances and find a solution. There was complete absence of direction and the officials were at loggerheads with one another. One group among them stubbornly defended the policy of Tuan Ying who, seventeen centuries earlier, had exterminated the Tibetans in order to pacify the country. At present, they said, the conditions are favorable, the Kokonor brigands control only two or three thousand Mongol horse and foot; from the moment the troops are moved the Tibetan tribes will abandon them. The other group obstinately advocated the policy of Chao Ch'ung-kuo who also, seventeen centuries before, won over the Tibetan tribes, granting titles to the chiefs, opening markets, etc. They said, "Because their army at present is in poor shape and money is lacking, this policy is the only one possible." The third group was as stubborn as the other two: Tuan Ying had exterminated the Tibetans and won only a barren worthless country, void of people. Chao Ch'ung-kuo had fooled himself, and after a couple of years the country had been out of control. Both generals had applied their policy to the utmost and failed. The right way is a middle way, the way of wise moderation; whoever

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time 175x
the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. 648
The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was 723
done (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace.

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty 175x
was still interested in education and instruction. More 871
schools were built in several small fortresses, and in 211
Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining **35**: 9*b*, 10*a*).

The situation grew worse every day and all of 175x
Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president 648
of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the [645]
military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong.

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation 175x
of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and 712
towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and
villages and cities, and to start immediately with the
building of seventeen new fortified villages. He pro- [502
moted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation 312]

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. 175x
He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San- 712
ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two [502
strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region 312]
north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the for- 175x
tress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow 648
and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed
his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration [211]
inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an [211]
Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable 175x
to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. 871
This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and 175x
the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, 563
most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay 579
at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country.

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, 175x
no more troops should have been sent to 648
Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during 175x
the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao 579
Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince!

These circumstances explain why the brigands in 175x
Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion 648
for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army.

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

175x 648 of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot.

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built [712] on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10).

[647] In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5).

175x 211 In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence.

175x 648 In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*).

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

[P. 46(B).]

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was 175x
created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! How- 648
ever, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku
asked for a declaration of submission from other chief-
tains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused
boldly.[82] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied 175x
with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided 579
to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better 648
their adventurous life of looting and plundering than
the submission to China. The group was strong and
numerous, and administered, during the following
years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, how-
ever, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[83]
but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews,
and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since
in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and
Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews
and cousins had followed them. They had forced the
Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and
help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought
tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chi-
nese troops fought many losing battles and lost many
officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were
the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded
by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson
Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his
people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension
of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141).
From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered
tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids
of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately
asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again [712
overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was 346]
enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the
building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of mar-
kets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*An-
nals* of Hsining **31**: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great 175x
lama (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17*b*). The *Annals* of 648
Hsining record (**20**: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang 662
(on the borders of Szechwan Province) was pro- 579
claimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing
the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two
temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and
to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure
the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond
of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

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[82] Pokotilov, 129.

[83] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137–141.

Peking, and the emperor agreed. Ping-tu forced the 175x
tribes to build a road to Wu-ssu-tsang in order to meet 648
the lama. The entire Szechwan province was upset for 662
fear of invasion by the savage Kokonor brigands. The 579
governor wrote Altan to order his sons to desist from
plundering the country. Altan answered that the only [437
reason for the behavior of his sons was the lack of any 647]
markets where they could fill their needs. In 1574
markets were opened for Pin-tu and Ping-tu and the
emperor granted to the temple of Kokonor the name
Yin-hua-sse and the title of vice-commander to Ping-tu.
However, the sons and cousins and nephews of Altan
plundered as before. Again the officials asked Altan
to reprimand them. Altan arrived with his army
feigning to meet the lama; however he had an axe to
grind with Oirats, his old foes. Coming back, he asked
the governor to allow all the Mongol chieftains to attend
a meeting with the lama in Kokonor. The
Tibetans, taken with panic at the sight of the demonstration
of power and magnificence, fled in all directions.
Altan returned to the north (1577) but Ho-lo-ch'ih
and Yung-chao-pu, his nephew and cousin, and
others refused to leave Kokonor, and Ping-tu started
plundering the Tibetans again. The officials immedi- [437
ately asked the emperor to close the markets. Altan 647]
reprimanded his son and urged him to return the stolen
people and cattle. However, Ho-lo-ch'ih continued
looting (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 13, 14).[84]

In 1579 the governor of Hsining was engaged in 175x
developing agriculture in Huangchung. He gathered 241
the destitute people who had fled with fear of the Mon- 652
gol brigands, located them in villages, provided them [312]
with grain and oxen, dug irrigation canals, etc. In
each village he opened a school. He gathered more
than 10[illegible]00 families, and more uncultivated land was
tilled. When Altan left the country in 1577 he had
asked him to leave peacefully and to protect the coun-
try against more raids by his people (*Annals* of Hsi-
ning 25: 20).

Ha-tsa, a Tibetan tribe of Kokonor, raided the west- 175x
ern valley of Hsining in 1580, but was repelled. Two 579
648

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[84] René Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, 592, Paris, Payot: The Ordos Mongols started professing the lamaism of the Yellow Church from 1566 on. The *jinong* Khutukh Setsen Hung-t'ai-chi of the Uchin banner, coming back from an expedition in Tibet in 1566, had invited lamas to accompany him to Ordos and convert the Mongols to lamaism. The fervent *jinong* succeeded in converting his grand-uncle Altan who at that time was in the heyday of his power (1576). Altan and his grand-nephew invited the chief of the Yellow Church, the great lama bSod-nams rgya-mtso to come to Kokonor. The Mongols met him magnificently and opened with him an official convention at which was laid the foundation of the Yellow Church among the Mongols (1577), and Altan honored the great lama with the title of Dalai Lama, which title is still borne at present by his successors. The Dalai Lama, returning to Lhasa, appointed the Living Buddha Dongkur Manjucri in Kukuhoto the residence of Altan. The Dalai Lama left Lhasa again to travel to Ordos in 1586 for the performance of the cremation ceremonies of Altan who had died in 1583.

centurions pursued them to Kokonor and perished in 175x an ambuscade (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; *Annals* of 579 Kansu 46: 35*b*). 648

In the autumn of 1583 Chulit'u, a Mongol chieftain of the group of Pin-tu from Sung Shan, in combination with the chieftain Yung Chao-pu of Kokonor, nephew of Altan, invaded the Sa-t'ang valley in Hsining with 8,000 horses. They killed and wounded more than 1,200 Tibetans, men and women, and drove away with them more than 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1585 the Kotsa tribe invaded the valleys south of Hsining and was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*).

In 1586, in the sixth moon, the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor with Tibetans subject to him, numbering 10,000 horses, invaded Hsining, killed 500 surrendered Tibetans and stole 4,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 28*b*). At the same time Chuang T'u-lai from Kokonor raided Nienpei plundering many villages, while the brigands of Pin-tu and Sung Shan invaded the Yen-meich'uan valley, north of Hsining. They were repelled by the commander Wang Shih-te helped by the *t'u-ssu*. T'u-ssu Na was killed pursuing the brigands to Pien-Tu-Ku (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*; 31: 18).

The next year the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih in combination with Hung-mao tribes invaded the western valleys of Hsining, killed few people but stole 3,000 cattle (*Annals* of Hsining 33, 28*b*).

The Oirat Wa-la-t'a-pu-nmang, who had joined the Kokonor brigands with 5,000 Tibetans, invaded the valleys south of Hsining in 1588. He stole 1,400 cattle and 700 horses from the Chinese army. The Chinese army suffered a crushing defeat. Three t'u-ssu, Li, Ch'eng, and Chao were killed and 800 soldiers, among them 40 centurions (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*; 33: 29*a*).

In 1589 the Tibetan Ha-tsa tribes raided San-ch'uan south of Nienpei. The centurion Liu Ts'ung-jen repelled them and was killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*a*). At the same time the Mongol brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih of Kokonor invaded the valleys south of Hsining and Nienpei with 500 horses, joined Chineng, the grand-nephew of Altan, and Tsaisengfu and Mangkotsu, belonging to the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan with [792] 4,000 horses. They beseiged the monastery of Ch'u-t'an-sse for seven days, killing many people and burning the houses. The monastery offered them some hundreds of oxen and horses and they left. T'u-ssu Yeh and Wang pursued them and were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19; 33: 19*a*).

In 1590 the Tibetan Tsantsa tribes plundered Sa T'ang valley and were repelled but a centurion was killed. Ch'ih-li-ko, who in 1587 had received the title of Obedient and Righteous Prince and was the second successor of Altan, accompanied the Dalai Lama with his army on his way back to Lhasa after the perform-

ance of the ceremonies for Altan. After having lingered 175^x
for a while in Kokonor, he assisted on his way back 579
home in the plundering of the cities and the regions of 648
T'ao and Ming Chou by the Mongols. The same year the brigands Tsai-Seng-fu and Achihtu of the Pin-tu group of Sung Shan plundered the Lungpu tribes southwest of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19). Tibetan tribes from Szechwan came to finish the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou and were repelled. Then the turbulent Ho-lo-ch'ih looted Lin-T'ao region (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36).

HELP SENT BY THE EMPEROR

The situation in East Kansu and Huangchung in 175^x
1590 was completely out of control. The country was 648
entirely laid waste and devastated, the Mongol brigands 727
and the Tibetans had incessantly overrun the country, the Chinese forces could not contravene their strength. Many surrendered Tibetan tribes had disintegrated, had disappeared, had been exterminated; the cattle were stolen; many young women had been abducted and many had fled and hidden in the mountains. The depredation of the country was wicked and ruthless and the destitution of the people was tragic.

A note in the *Annals* of Hsining (**33**: 19*a*) records to what extent and in what way the Mongol brigands of Kokonor had terrorized, and subjected, reduced to the level of slaves the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor, East Kansu and Huangchung. The chieftain Yung-chao-pu, nephew of Altan, controlled at the time of his arrival in the Kokonor only 1,000 subjects: at present he controlled more than 10,000. The chief Sang-ehr-huang t'ai-chi formerly controlled 800 subjects but now 3,000. The chieftains Kosina and Lashala formerly controlled 4,000 people each but now each of them controlled 10,000 and more. The number of the subjects controlled by the other chiefs is not known.

Finally in 1590 the emperor sent Cheng Lo, presi- 175^x
dent of the ministry of war, to cope with the situation 648
(*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 36). [645]

On the first moon of the following year Cheng Lo sent Colonel Shih Chia with the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Te, to call the Tibetan tribes to surrender; 165 tribes numbering 74,710 persons surrendered (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 18*b*; **25**: 20*a–b*; **33**: 16*b*). Among the surrendered tribes in Huangchung are noted the Hung-mao tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lapu-erh tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 7*a*), the Lungpu tribes led by their lama Sonamchintso (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 3*a–b*), the 29 Tsan-tsa tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 4*b*), and the Sukomi tribes (*Annals* of Hsining **19**: 5*b*).

In the ninth moon he sent the brigade General Wang Shih-te, the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Lu Kuang-tsu and groups of surrendered Tibetan tribes, seething with hatred against the Mongol brigands and eager to avenge all the sufferings they had endured, to fight the Mon-

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. 175x
They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured 648
families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols [647
in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant 437]
raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a*–*b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve 175x
again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More 579
villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the [712]
officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever 175x
won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military 648
presentation are encountered the names of the most 703
meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a*–*b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were 175x
sent to the military officials to build more walls espe- 712
cially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

[P.49(A)]

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the 175x
way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and 712
a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the
western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-
tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had
been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was
also built and a garrison appointed. The same dis-
positions were taken to improve the strength of the
cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands 175x
of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops 701
were available to occupy permanently the strategic
points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were re-
quired good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops
the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals*
of Hsining **33**: *29b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan
started with the exploitation of iron ore in the moun- [327]
tains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and
blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed
among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of
Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate war- 175x
riors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to 708
drill them. The director of colonization reported that 659
80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available
to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and
East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were
given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were
sent to promote education, build schools in each village
and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 19*b*;
25: 23*b*; **35**: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encoun- 175x
tered an interesting note relating to the education given 871
to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these
desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of
Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons
of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities
of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng
Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or
forty students, in the smallest of these cities only
twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are
two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote
education (*Annals* of Hsining **33**: 20*a*).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, 175x
the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and 712
fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kum- 346
bum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to
build a wall around the hermitages existing at that
time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks
and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose
walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum
(Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling in- 175x
secure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and 721
to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. 648
The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River,
looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight
to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 20*a*).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack
of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). 175x The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to 721 a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished 175x the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note 213 is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable.

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to 175x reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was re- 648 pelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China [712] proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*).

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism 175x in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many 792 times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one 795 of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan

175^x
and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige 792
in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, 795
sq.).

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping- 175^x
chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta 648 ●
Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination
with Ordos brigands invaded and looted
Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering
a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built 175^x
to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and 703
sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably 211
favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on
the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists.
Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi,
who during the Yuan period fulfilled the
duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel,
in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu
clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan
tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i
Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng
Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce
the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts
must have been the reason for the imperial distinction
(*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28).

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping- 175^x
chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) ap- 648
pointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing
arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city.
He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days
and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three
Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he
himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all
the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The
grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a [554
stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The 211]
stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his
leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move
with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking)
to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived,
Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more
soldiers were put under his command. He remained
in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered
at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In
a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts
and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by
his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his [211
meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon 703]
him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of
the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted
at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific
arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served
the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists.
It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals*
of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a*–*b*; *Annals* of Kansu
42: 45*a*–*b*).

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, 175^x
Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

[P. 50(B)]

the Khoshot tribes (Oirats) went to Kokonor with his 175x armies. He conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam and East Tibet, defeated the enemies of the Dalai Lama, occupied Lhasa and proclaimed in 1642 the Dalai Lama Nag-dbang bLo-bzang temporal and spiritual sovereign of Central Tibet.[88]

From 1597 until 1642 no events are recorded in either *Annals* concerning Huangchung. The country enjoyed a relative peace, while its borderlands still suffered raids from the same Mongols.

THE MONGUORS AND THE FALL OF THE MING DYNASTY 175x 648

Desperate times were still in store for the Monguors and their t'u-ssu, and tremendous sacrifices were still requested from them to save the tottering dynasty, but the Monguors with their t'u-ssu stood loyal as a rock to the end.

The restless Mongol tribes had, during two and a half centuries, harrassed the dynasty, administering many crushing defeats to the armies, devastating the border provinces of the empire, and the neighborhood of the capital, causing the ruin and the revolt of the Tibetans, draining the resources of the empire and weakening the discipline of the armies and administrations. This sword of Damocles was still hanging over the dynasty when another ominous plague threatened the empire, the plague of brigands from inside the empire. The Ming dynasty was so effete her fall was imminent.

During the T'ien-ch'i period (1621–1627) Chinese brigands led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung ruthlessly murdered the people and savagely devastated the cities and villages, to the point that the exasperated Chinese population hoped for new rulers.[89]

According to the Lu chronicles, in 1628 a severe 175x famine desolated the region of Yenan and Suei-te 579 (Shensi), so many times plundered by Mongols during 668 two and one-half centuries. Wang Chia-yun, a native of Fu-ku, stirred the starving people to band together and go plundering through the country. Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, planning a revolution against the dynasty, seized the opportunity to organize the already plundering groups of brigands and realize their plan.

During 1628–1640 the revolution raged unchecked. 175x The rumors spread like a prairie fire in Huangchung 669 and North Kansu, and the population was frightened out of its wits, when the brigands poured from Hsi-an through the Kuan-chung pass toward Kansu.

In 1641 the old Hsining t'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien (descendant of the Myriarch Kung-k'o-hsin-chi, founder of the Ch'i clan) and his two sons, Hsing-chu and P'ing-chu, invited to a secret convention to discuss

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[88] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 603.

[89] Erich Hauer, Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung, Ein Beitrag zum Ende der Ming Dynasty, *Asia Major*, Vol. secundum fasc. 3/4: 436 sq., 1925.

While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting 175x
and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing [643
Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself 762]
in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dy- 175x
nasty with the same faithfulness they had served the 648
Ming dynasty. 727

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of mili-
tary colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to [647
them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, 437]
favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In
the meantime the administration had incessantly built [653
cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over 657
the country. The aspect of the country had changed 658]
completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged 175x
unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans 563
and Monguors had suffered together, helped and shel- 571
tered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huang- 175x
chung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

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[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

colony which the Mongols had handed down to the 175x
Ming.

HUANGCHUNG MONGUORS AND THEIR T'U-SSU DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

175x

The establishment of a new dynasty in China used 648
to entail desperate times for a long period. The faithful Monguors with their t'u-ssu, after having defended the Ming dynasty to the end, pledged allegiance to, and cast their lot with the new Ch'ing dynasty, and again would prove their faithfulness. This time they had to fight at the side of the Manchu troops against the rebel Chinese officials of Kansu and all China, even though the power of the new dynasty was still problematical, but all of them remained heroically loyal and 175x
dependable to the end, suffering hardship and dying 577
for the dynasty. Their faithfulness in such trying and 648
tragic circumstances cannot but be admired. The history of the Monguors is a shining example of faithfulness seldom recorded in history.

The people in the northern provinces of China had, 175x
for many years, had a desperate time on account of the 648
brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng and the invading groups of Manchus looting the country of its wealth. The despairing Ming emperor had hanged himself on April 25, 1644, and Li Tzu-ch'eng had entered the capital and proclaimed himself emperor. The Ming general Wu San-kuei defended the northern part of the great wall of the empire and the pass of Shanhaikuan against invading Manchu plunderers. Considering that the very existence of the empire was at stake and abhorring and loathing the savage brigands of Li Tzu-ch'eng, Wu San-kuei invited Manchu troops to come over to annihilate the brigands and save the dynasty. However he had little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese empire. He opened the pass, and his troops in combination with those of the Manchus rushed to the capital which they entered on
June 6, 1644. The brigand emperor Li Tzu-ch'eng [643]
had fled, but the Manchus proclaimed their own emperor and inaugurated their Ch'ing dynasty. On October 7 Li Tzu-ch'eng died. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the chiefs of the brigands and their impact was broken. Immediately Wu-San-kuei, leading his troops in concert with the Manchu army, pursued the brigands and achieved the surrender of the Chinese provinces.

At the end of 1645, T'u-ssu Ch'i T'ing-chien and Li
T'ien-yu surrendered in T'ung Kuan to the Manchu [624]
Prince A-ki-ko, came back to Kansu, and called on General Meng Ch'iao-fang. They were rehabilitated and ordered to induce the surrender of the Monguor t'u-ssu. All the t'u-ssu submitted to the new dynasty (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). Meng Ch'iao-fang immediately sent to Hsining Commanders Chiang San-chih (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 3*b*) and Chang Chi-yao

with troops (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 6*b*) who, in con- 175x
cert with the t'u-ssu troops, exterminated the groups 648
of brigands still roaming in the country without chiefs, and they induced the rebel Tibetan tribes to surrender. The commanders started repairing the cities, villages and fortresses in Huangchung.

In 1646 T'u-ssu Ch'eng was appointed commander in Chuang Lang by the Manchu Prince Su and given the title of Piao-ch'i Chiang-chun. At that time groups of brigands plundered the country of Sung Shan I north of Chuang Lang. The son of T'u-ssu Ch'eng pursued and exterminated them and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*).

However, the Chinese abhorred and hated the uncouth Manchu barbarians. Many among the governors [578]
and commanders could not resist the temptation of espousing the cause of the crumbled dynasty. The opposition would last for eighteen years before the entire empire would be conquered by the Manchus. Several times their empire met precarious circumstances, but party intrigues and jealousies among the Chinese divided them, and never could they offer a permanent united front against the conquerors.

The whereabouts of the heir apparent to the Ming 175x
throne being unknown, several princes of the imperial 669
family arose in the provinces and tried to restore the dynasty. Prince Kuei succeeded in the formation in Kiangsi Province of a coalition of governors and military commanders, and the news spread like a prairie fire over the entire empire. Several governors and commanders in north China who had surrendered at the arrival of the Manchu troops, waited for the signal of the general uprising. A storm was brewing even in the remote northern region of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Two chiefs of the Mohammedan colony of Kanchow, Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, started the revolt against the Ch'ing dynasty (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*). They joined the group of Chou Shih-chuan, a scion of the Ming princes, and enrolled as many Tibetans and brigands of Li Tze-ch'eng as possible. The Chinese officials of Kanchow and Liangchow followed in their wake.[88]

At the end of the Ming dynasty in North Kansu, 175x
Huangchung, and East Kansu, in nearly all the impor- 162
tant cities and villages along the trade routes, colonies 795
of Mohammedans were established, having their mosques and religious leaders who were obeyed and honored by their people. Meng Ch'iao-fang, conversant with this situation, informed the emperor about his apprehensions concerning the participation of the Mohammedans in the revolt. He wrote that an order issued by their religious chiefs would suffice to enroll all the Mohammedans of Kansu in the insurrection, and then he indicated the cities and villages in Kansu where the most important groups of Mohammedans existed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1*a–b*; 34: 1*b*, 2*b*).

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[88] E. H. Parker, Kansu Mussulmans, *China Review* 16: 335, 1887.

General Meng Ch'iao-fang seems to have trusted the 175x
faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu of Huangchung 795
and therefore decided to stabilize his position first in Hsining before attacking Kanchow, Liangchow, etc., notwithstanding that in Hsining a strong Mohammedan colony existed. Therefore, in 1645 he sent two commanders to Hsining, and at the end of 1646 he sent another commander with troops, Ma Ju-shin, probably foreseeing imminent troubles.

In 1647 the rebels of Kanchow aimed to join the 175x
already revolting Mohammedan groups in East Kansu. 669
Dissension seems to have existed among the Mohammedan colonies of Hsining and those of Kanchow, Liangchow, etc. Anyway the rebel Mohammedans, Chinese, and Tibetans united, led by the two Mohammedan chiefs Ting Kuo-tung and Milayin, and marched their troops first towards Hsining in order to compel the Mohammedan colony and the whole region of Huangchung to follow in their wake. On the borders of the Tatung River, north of Hsining, a ruthless battle was fought by the Manchu commanders of Hsining, supported by all the Huangchung troops of the t'u-ssu and a resounding victory was obtained (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*a*). The Hsining Mohammedans refused to mix in the revolt, maybe for fear of the overwhelming Manchu and Monguor forces guarding the country. Anyway, the victory secured a temporary peace in the country of Huangchung.

In 1648, after this victory, Meng Ch'iao-fang started attacking the cities of North Kansu. The cities of Liangchow and Yung Ch'ang surrendered, but Major Ma Hu-ya resisted in Kanchow. The city was carried by storm, the commander, eighteen officials, and eighty others were killed. The resistance of the rebels of Suchow was more serious. The city suffered tremendously, the commander and many people were killed (*Annals* of Hsining 26: 1, 3). T'u-ssu Li fought in Kanchow and Suchow with 500 soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*), helped by Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40*a*), and Ch'i t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*–*b*). Meng Ch'iao-fang, informed that the rebels (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 40*a*) had proposed to move to East Kansu after the defeat on the Tatung River, had appointed t'u-ssu to guard the passes and the roads leading to East Kansu. T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*b*) fought the rebels in Chin Pien I, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ta-hsun (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36*b*) in Ta Tsing, T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 36) and T'u-ssu Lu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 59*b*) fought them in Wu Chao Lin. T'u-ssu Kan with three hundred of his soldiers guarded the ferry on the Yellow River. However, the rebels managed to reach East Kansu and succeeded in capturing within a few months the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao, and Kuei Te, and beseiged the city of Kung Ch'ang.

In 1649 Meng Ch'iao-fang led his army and all the 175x
troops of the t'u-ssu to East Kansu, in order to re- 648

capture the cities lost at the hands of the revolting 175x
Ming commanders. He recovered all the cities, one 648
after the other, Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'ao Chou, Lin T'ao and Kuei Te, and saved the beseiged city of Kung Ch'ang. The brother of T'u-ssu Lu was killed in the fight at Ho-ya-lung (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 60). In a little more than three years Meng Ch'iao-fang had recovered one hundred and more cities and fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining **26**: 1, 2). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 3) fought at Kuei Te. After these arduous campaigns the Monguor troops were released, and could start repairing the tremendous havoc wrought by the Mongol brigands of Kokonor and Sung Shan I, and by the rebel Tibetans, during the last 150 years of the Ming regime. In the meantime the Manchu armies conquered more provinces in the empire and still had intermittent revolts to quell in the very south of East Kansu and on the Szechwan borders.

In 1660 a revolt is recorded of the Mohammedan 175x
Ta Erh-han, a member of the Yeh t'u-ssu, who induced 579
Tibetans of Kokonor to help plunder the valley of Milaku, the region situated on the northern borders of the Yellow River south of Nienpei. The guard of the Milaku region had been entrusted to the Yeh t'u-ssu since the Yuan and Ming times. The faithful T'u-ssu Yeh killed the rebel and nine of his men, and captured two others whom he delivered to Hsining. The invaders fled to Kokonor. The Yeh t'u-ssu was a clan of Mohammedans from Turkistan which was settled in Milaku in Yuan times (Monguors I: 32; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*). Later, at the time of the revolt of Wu San-kuei in 1673, a group of the Yeh clan started following the rebels. The faithful t'u-ssu again succeeded in quelling the revolt, killing many of them. He was promoted to secretary commander as a reward for his faithfulness (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 52*b*).

In 1665 Huai Erh-lai, a Tibetan from Kokonor, with his two brothers and their tribes, looted the country along the trade road between Kanchow and Liangchow. Wang Chin-pao, the commander of Hsining, repulsed the brigands (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*) and T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 46*b*) helped him.

The tremendous rebellion of Wu San-kuei, the first 175x
benefactor of the Ch'ing dynasty, who had put the 648
Manchus in possession of the empire started at the end 579
of the year 1673. The revolt spread through eleven of the eighteen provinces of the empire, and required eight years for its suppression. East Kansu was soon lost to the Manchus and the cities of Lanchow, Ho Chou, T'aochow, Lin T'ao, Kung Ch'ang, etc. were taken by the rebels. The bridge of Lanchow, which secured the communication between East and West Kansu, was broken up. In that way no armies along West Kansu could come to the rescue of East Kansu. However, General Wang Chin-pao of Hsining rushed to Lanchow with his army and all the Monguor troops under com-

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 175x
3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar 645 ●
with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more 579
rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with 175x
Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during 628
the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. 175x
It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 [731
the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the 795]
entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of 579
Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had followed them dared not return to Kanchow, for fear of 175x severe punishments. They liked better to settle in the 579 region of Pe-ta, situated 120 li north of Hsining, outside the jurisdiction of the prefecture, and belonging to the Mongols. They tilled the soil and built houses. 175x More people had joined their group which already 648 numbered 10,000 families in 1693. They brought the regulatory *t'ien pa* (land) taxes to the Mongols. T'u-ssu Li, having investigated the circumstances with other commanders, reported that the Pe-ta region had become a favorite thoroughfare along which Mongols and Tibetans traveled, spying on Huangchung. The group of settlers conversant with the Chinese regions where they constantly traveled also supplied them with information. Lamas traveled the whole year long on their way to Tibet without regulatory passes, etc. The t'u-ssu proposed to compel the entire group of settlers to return to their original countries, for the offense of having revolted had long since been forgiven, and to forbid the bringing of the *t'ien pa* taxes to the Mongol princes, according to the regulations issued by the Manchu emperor in 1658. He proposed to forbid lamas to travel to Tibet through the Pe-ta region, but to travel with passports secured on fixed passes. If serious measures were not taken, sooner or later troubles would arise, all the more since Tibet is for the moment seriously troubled and Galdan is disturbing the empire. Nobody knows what would be in store in the future. If the Mongol princes and settlers would not comply with the regulations, the army should be used to compel them to obey (*Annals* of Hsining **34**: 5*a*).

T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai, brother of T'u-ssu Ch'i [702] Pe-chai, having graduated from the military academy and in 1673 fought the rebel Wu San-kuei in combination with all the Monguor t'u-ssu, had been promoted to second captain in Wei Yuan Pu. He had also fought rebels in Chin Chou and Li Hsien in East Kansu, had been promoted to major and transferred with his troops to Chang Chia Ku north of Peking in Chihli Province, to participate in the war the emperor was waging against the Jungar (Oirat) chief Galdan. After the death of the Oirat chief Yeh Hsien, who had captured the Ming emperor and proclaimed himself emperor of all the Mongols and had been killed in 1455, the Oirats had divided into four groups. Galdan, chief of the Choros group and the Jungar tribes, dreamed of building a new Jungar empire and expelling the Manchus from China.

Galdan, having already conquered Kashgaria, Turfan and Hami, and been ruling over Central Asia, had still to win the four Khalkha groups in order to control the united Mongol race. In 1688 he invaded their territory. The Khalkhas fled to Tumet and asked the emperor for protection. In 1690 Galdan had struck a severe blow at Kalgan. In 1696 the emperor, himself leading one of his three armies, went to meet Galdan in the Kerulen region. T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai

175x 648 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46a) with his troops accompanied the emperor. Galdan fled but was met by the army of General Fei Yang-ku who completely annihilated his army at Chao Mu To. The Khalkhas reoccupied their country.

In 1697 the emperor went with his armies to Ninghsia in order to destroy entirely the Jungar forces. Again T'u-ssu Ch'i Chung-chai with his troops followed the imperial army. However Galdan died May 3, 1697, and the emperor returned to Peking. The t'u-ssu was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ho Pa division in Shansi, then brigadier general in Chin Hua in Chekiang Province. In 1713, upon his retirement, he fulfilled the duty of assistant commander of his clan. At his death the emperor honored him with [703] a funeral oration.[89]

In 1703 the Khoshot Mongols of Kokonor submitted to the empire. The emperor conferred on the descendants of Ku Shih Khan, bLo-bzang tanchin, and others the titles of Prince, Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi (*Annals* of Kansu **64**: 52*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*a*).

175x 795 648 This record points to the troubles in Lhasa which had long threatened Huangchung and the Monguors. Ku Shih Khan, chief of a Khoshot group (one of the four Oirat groups), had invaded and conquered Kokonor, Tsaidam, and Kham in 1636, and had been invited by the fifth Dalai Lama, Nag dzang bLo bzang, chief of the Yellow Sect, to help him in the struggle against a Tibetan prince, fanatic adherent of the old Red Sect, who had occupied Lhasa. He defeated the prince, installed the Dalai in Lhasa, proclaimed him Sovereign of Central Tibet and assumed the duty of protector of the Yellow Church.[90] Ku Shih Khan had been under the Manchu suzerainty since 1637. He died in 1656. His son Dayan, his grandson Dalai, and his great-grandson La tsang assumed the same duty. The Dalai entrusted the temporal administration of his kingdom to an official called a *desi*. In 1670 the *desi* revolted. On the request of the Dalai Lama, Dayan quelled the revolt and committed the *desi* to prison. Sangs rgyas rgya mcho was appointed to the *desi* office. The Dalai died in 1680–1681. The *desi*, with the Panchen Lama, [775] appointed as reincarnation of the Dalai Lama a boy born a year after his death, called Chang Yang bLo bzang, the sixth Dalai Lama. The Tibetans and lamas should have been cognizant of the fact and have considered 175x the boy as the legitimate successor of Nag 795 Dzang. However, the shrewd *desi*, offended by the 645 growing interference of the emperor and of the Khoshot prince in Tibetan affairs, kept secret from the outer world both the death of the Dalai Nag dzang and the appointment of the reincarnation. He himself [662] planned to rule the kingdom politically. Galdan who had been lama in Lhasa had been the friend of the Dalai and the *desi*, who at the time of his struggle with the Khalkhas had imprudently spoken in his favor near the emperor. In 1689 the distrusting emperor started inquiring into the matter and knew that the old Dalai had died in 1680–1681. He suspected connivance between the *desi* and the Jungars. After the crushing defeat administered to Galdan in 1696, the emperor learned that Galdan would fly to Tibet to build a new army. The emperor back in Peking immediately sent to the Khoshot princes of Kokonor the order to apprehend Galdan, his family and followers in order to check their faithfulness to the empire. However, Galdan had fled to the west and died in 1697. The princes of Kokonor, in order to dispel the suspicion of the emperor concerning their faithfulness, gathered in a group of thirty-one presided over by an eminent lama and swore allegiance to the empire. It seems that on account of the unanimous testimony of faithfulness sent to the emperor, the princes, being all descendants of Ku Shih Khan, were awarded titles.[91]

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[89] *Annals* of Hsining 28: 4*a*. *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*b*. René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 607, 610, Paris, Payot, 1935.

[90] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 59–70, Roma, La Liberia della Stato., 1949. The Dalai Lama who died in 1680–1681 had built up a mighty kingdom and the supremacy of the Yellow Sect over all Tibet, leaning on the power of the Mongols, who were foreigners, arousing the suspicions of the Tibetans and the jealousy of the other sects and the old nobility. At the same time he had laid the foundation of the ruin of his kingdom, having recognized the right of some Mongol tribes to act as patrons over his lands, being bound in that way to the vicissitudes of political events. He had to take side with his protectors, later the Jungars, in their struggle with the Chinese empire.

However, the *Annals* of Hsining present another version: the emperor, preoccupied with the troubled situation in Tibet and Kokonor, ordered the lama [662] Chang Nan to *erh chih* (induce to submission) the princes of Kokonor. Having obeyed, the emperor granted titles to the descendants of Ku Shih Khan: to Blo bzang tan chin, the title of prince, to the others the titles of *Pei-le, Pei-tse, Kung, T'aichi*. A yearly allowance in silver was also granted. They were requested to bring tribute to the capital. As long as the lama was in Hsining the princes were loyal and dependable. Later Chinese officials were appointed to care for them (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 16*b*).

In the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52, is recorded in 1708 175x a serious revolt of Hsi Ku Tibetans, in the region of 579 Wen Hsien in the farthest southern corner of East Kansu. The Hsi Ku tribes are the Hsi La Ku tribes, the Shera Uighurs, the Yellow Tibetans, already noted (pp. 17, 18). They were still autonomous in 1708 and had their own chiefs, and joined in the revolt. They depended upon the Yang t'u-ssu, and their chiefs were granted titles after the revolt by the emperor, thanks to the intercession of the Yang t'u-ssu.

In 1718 the Board of Agriculture of Hsining announced 175x that 14,678 acres of uncultivated land were [647] still available for culture.

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[91] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles. Empire Kalmouk ou Empire Mantchou*, 62, 72, 73, Paris, Picard, 1912.

still available for culture. More troops had arrived in 175x
Hsining on account of the troubles in Tibet and those in Turkistan caused by the Jungars. Troops had to be fed and more grain was required (*Annals* of Hsining 31 : 21*a*).

The period of troubles and calamities originating from Kokonor and already long present in Huangchung started in 1723.

Tsewang Rabdan, nephew of the late Galdan, had 175x
succeeded his uncle as chief of the Jungars (1697). 648 ●
He was as hostile to the emperor as his uncle, and was 795
as good a friend of the *desi* Sangs rgyas as his uncle. The sixth Dalai Lama, appointed by the *desi* and the Panchen Lama and enthroned in 1697, had proved to be a debauched man. In 1701 the Kokonor Prince La Tsang, protector of the Yellow Church, the Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan and a delegate of the emperor compelled him to resign. He obeyed but, backed by the *desi*, he reserved for himself the temporal rights of his kingdom. Prince La Tsang confined the *desi* to prison and killed him. The emperor appointed La Tsang to the office of *desi* and ordered him to bring to Peking the dethroned Dalai Lama. However, many lamas and Tibetans still favored him and objected strongly. Finally the unpopular La Tsang succeeded in 1706 in moving the escort to Peking. The caravan was attacked on the way by lamas and Tibetans, and the Dalai was killed. La Tsang, in concert with the Panchen lama, appointed as sixth reincarnation the lama Yeches, but he was taken in ill grace by lamas and Tibetans. All the more rumors were spread that in Li T'ang the genuine reincarnation was born. The emperor, to nip in the bud all these rumors, confined the Li T'ang reincarnation and his parents in the lamasery of Kumbum in Hsining. Despite the protestations of lamas, and even of many of the princes of Kokonor, the enthroning of the sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was ordered by the emperor and performed in 1710.

The Jungar chief Tsewang Rabdan was incensed by the repeated intrusions of the emperor in the affairs of Tibet, conversant with the animosity instilled in the hearts of the lamas of the entire Yellow Church and of the Tibetan tribes against the Chinese empire, conscious of the hatred fostered in the whole nation against
the Khoshot La Tsang, who had dethroned their Dalai 175x
Lama and was told to have him murdered on the way 579
to Peking. Well informed about the anti-Chinese dis- 795
positions of even the princes of Kokonor, Rabdan considered the time ripe to take possession of Tibet and Kokonor, and to rule the Yellow Church. He resolved to pose as the savior of the religion, leading his armies to Hsining to bring to Lhasa the Dalai Lama, the idol of the nation, together with lamas and the princes of Kokonor. His first army marching on Hsining was defeated, but the second, commanded by his brother Tsereng Dondoub, reached Lhasa in 1717, defended by Prince La Tsang. Treacherously, a city gate was

175x
opened and for three days the wild Jungars destroyed 795
and looted the temples and the city, killing many peo- 579
ple. La Tsang was killed.

The emperor could not take this affront lying down. 175x
However, his first punitive expedition to Lhasa was 648
defeated in 1718. The second in 1720 parted in two columns, one leaving Szechwan Province, the other starting from Hsining. On the way both encountered Jungar troops which were defeated, fled and left Tibet. T'u-ssu Lu T'i-sin was taken ill at that time and sent his son Lu Hua-lin, commanding his troops, to participate in the expedition. Back in Huangchung he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the Hsining army, and later colonel in Liangchow and brigadier general in Kanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The emperor, cognizant of the growing animosity of the lamas and the people against his appointed Dalai Lama Yeches, and of the aversion aroused in the hearts of the lamas and the Tibetans against the savage Jungars who had looted their temples and carried away the riches of the nation and killed many people, conversant with their eagerness to see enthroned in Lhasa the Dalai Lama secluded in Kumbum, resolved to send the lama to Lhasa with the Hsining army and to enthrone him as a new sixth Dalai Lama. The decision seemed to him apt to reconquer the sympathy of the Tibetans and the lamas, and to plant in their hearts aversion for the Jungars, who were waging war with him in Central Asia with an eye on Tibet.

The emperor, averred politician, in order to assure 175x
the success of his plan, ordered the Monguor Living 662
Buddha, T'u Kuan, chief of the renowned Monguor 643
monastery of Erh Ku Lung in Hsining, a learned man 648
of high repute in Tibet and Mongolia, to convey the 795
Kumbum Lama to Lhasa in the capacity of imperial envoy. He bestowed him with the title of Huthukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas, in order to dignify his position. He gave him letters and unusual gifts to bring to the Panchen Lama and to the heads of the most important monasteries in Tibet, his former teachers and friends. The Kumbum Dalai Lama, brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence and enthroned in 1720, was enthusiastically congratulated by the lamas and the Tibetans. This act put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church. The Monguors were proud of their Huthukhtu (Monguors II: 31). The sixth Dalai Lama Yeches was dethroned and called to Peking in order to prevent possible complications.[92]

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[92] Maurice Courant, *op. cit.*, 76-77. W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908, *T'oung-pao*, 1-92, 1910. E. Haenich, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Gegenwärtigen Dynasty, *T'oung-pao*, 197-235, 375-424, 1911. Réné Grousset, *op. cit.* Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Washington, 1943. L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Lieden, Brill, 1950. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, *passim*.

REVOLT OF 1723–1724

After the successful enthronement of the Dalai Lama 175x
in Lhasa in 1720, it seems that a period of peace was 648
to be expected. However Huangchung had to go 579
through a new tremendous ordeal of destruction, ruin, and ruthless murder, caused by the revolt of the Khoshot Prince of Kokonor, bLo-bzang tan-chin, a grandson of Ku Shih Khan.

All the princes of Kokonor had participated in the Lhasa expedition in 1720 and had seen their wishes fulfilled by the enthronement of their beloved Dalai Lama. On account of the troubles in Lhasa which had lasted for so many years, related to the enthronements and the depositions of Dalai Lamas and the interference of the Chinese emperor in Tibetan affairs, the princes must have shared for a long time the grudge and the hatred of the lamas and the Tibetans against the Chinese empire.

Back in Kokonor the ambitious Prince bLo-bzang tan-chin had started dreaming about the unification under his command of all the Kokonor tribes, and at the rebuilding of the nation of his ancestor Ku Shih Khan. He enticed the Kokonor princes and the chiefs at a convention in Ch'a han-t'o lo hai to swear to renounce the titles previously granted to them by the emperor. He started calling himself Dalai hun t'aichi in order to induce them to follow his example. It was an act of rebellion against the empire. However two princes Ch'a han tan-chin and Ah-erh-te-mi refused to follow his injunctions; they compelled their troops to abandon him. A fight was about to start between them but, deeming their forces too inferior to those of bLo bzang, Ch'a han tan-chin, first sent his wife and 140 of his people to the pass of Lao Ya Kuan outside the great wall of the city of Ho Chou. Ch'ang Chou vice-president of the administrative organ of Hsining invited him to move his people into the city of Ho Chou, and ordered him to leave the defense of the pass to his troops. bLo bzang prepared to cross the Yellow River to fight. This happened in the eighth moon of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 52*a–b*).

But Nien Keng-yao, Governor General of Szechwan and Shensi provinces, and Yueh Chung-ch'i, commander in chief of the troops of Szechwan, had already arrived from Szechwan Province with their troops to quell the revolt. The Chinese had long since had first-hand information concerning the unrest brewing in Kokonor. They knew that Ch'a-han nomenhan, appointed by Lhasa as chief of the lamasery of Kumbum, had pledged allegiance to bLo-bzang, that princes of Kokonor in combination with all the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor depending upon bLo-bzang, and those of Hsining, subjects of the monasteries, and others were ready to revolt with the lamas of Huangchung.

In the tenth moon the revolt burst forth like a pent-up stream; 200,000 rebels invaded Hsining, stealing cattle, burning villages, and fighting with the troops.

The situation was very serious, because the revolt 175x spread over the whole country of Huangchung and was 648 general. In the northern part of Huangchung, the 579 monastery of Erh Ku Lung alone controlled forty daughter monasteries. Each monastery was a center [792] of revolt, situated in a tortuous valley, guarded by towering mountains, for Huangchung is a mountainous country with poor means of communication, with almost impassable trails, and passes hard to overcome and control.

However, Nien Keng-yao was equal to the situation and extensive powers had been granted to him. He had called from Szechwan, Shensi, and Kansu provinces combat troops inured to hardships, and had chosen capable officers whom he appointed to jobs that gave them full scope for their abilities. He called the Monguor t'u-ssu and ordered 2,000 of their troops, conversant with the intricate geography of the country and conversant with the chiefs of the tribes who lived in their neighborhood. He called all available resources into play.

Everywhere the lamas, the Kokonor Mongols and the Tibetans were the most furious fighters. This seems to point to the fact that they seethed with the greatest hatred against the empire, despite all the favors the lamas had received from the emperors. Nien Keng-yao understood that he had to fight savage and enraged enemies. He went about the job with draconian severity and acted without let-up and with incredible speed.

In the tenth moon the northern, western, and southern valleys of Hsining were cleared by three armies and the besieged fortresses saved. Many, many rebels were slaughtered. In the eleventh moon one army cleared the region of Chuang Lang and defeated Tibetan tribes. Another had to return to the Tatung valley, north of Hsining, to finish drastically the new rebellion.

bLo-bzang, considering the overwhelming forces marshalled against him and their ruthless behavior, asked to surrender. This was refused. More troops arrived at the rebelling monastery of Ch'i Chia Sse where 500 lamas and 1,000 Tibetans were mercilessly killed in the fight.

In the twelfth moon, Mongol Khoshot princes surrendered with more than 100,000 of their followers, while the army still defeated the rebelling Tibetans in the region of Kuei Te, where the monasteries were burned down.

In the first moon of 1724 the armies had to fight the 175x monasteries of Erh Ku Lung, Kuo Mang (Seerkok), 792 and Ch'ieh bzang, the most important centers of re- 579 sistance. The lamas of Erh Ku Lung had called to arms all their subjects, who awaited the army in resolute array; 13,000 of their subjects were killed in the action. The number of lamas killed is not noted, but it is recorded that they fought furiously, that 700 lamas were killed in Seerkok alone (Monguors II: 34–37).

Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715. 175x 797

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung t'ang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

In Turkistan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776–1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical: All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains, and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire. 175x 648

one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, 175x
one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liang- 631
chow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, 162
three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a*–*b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, 175x
Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and sol- 648
diers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, 631
East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He
fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and in- [651]
formed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the 175x
princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far 648
at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han con-
quered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who [651]
immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

[P.62(B)]

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation 175^x
of their territories and subjects, and informed 648
them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and
Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them
by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand [334]
to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion
granted to them by the emperor.

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who 175^x
had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the 792
depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century
and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged
to the Red sect, were married, and lived among
the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries.
They had received personally large proprietaries
from the emperor, with a document written in
their name, and a title. This had been the origin of
the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The
son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the
property and the title and was considered to be a lama.
This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire
lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy
living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some
taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting
this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and
subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one
day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were
abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 22*b*).

In the same year, for the very first time in history, 175^x
officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu 624
provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in
the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the
Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces
(*Annals* of Hsining **16**: 13*a*).

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly
issued for the building of more graneries in the cities
and most important strongholds all over the country, [344
for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas 251]
and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the
officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining **31**:
23*b*, 25*a*)..

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang 175^x
Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, 653
contained many errors which were amended.

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang
Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng
to help his subjects. The next year also was one of
bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to
each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which
restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of
Kansu **2**: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became 175^x
subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military
administrations (*Annals* of Hsining **18**: 4, 11*b*, 14).
In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a
lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already
been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang
tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining **18**: 71*a*).

[P. 63 (A)]

Huangchung and the Monguors, after the troubles 175x
of 1723–1724, enjoyed peace for sixty years. All that time they assisted in the complete change of the administration and of the country, caused by the confiscation of the large properties and Tibetan tribes which belonged to the lamas. They assisted in the rebuilding of cities, villages and fortifications, schools and granaries, and rebuilt and overhauled their own properties. Every day new regulations were issued to which everybody had to comply, and everywhere Chinese officials and bureaus were encountered. The Chinese officials played the capital role in the country. A large army occupied the country. The influence the t'u-ssu had enjoyed during centuries was waning rapidly.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN REVOLT—WAHHABISM

All of a sudden in 1781 the terrible revolt broke out 175x
among the Mohammedans in Kansu. It portended 795
ominous events. 579

The Salars, Turks, originating from Turkistan 648
(Samarkand, according to the traditions) inhabited during the Yuan time both borders of the Yellow River, in the region of Hsun Hua T'ing in East Kansu, and in the regions of Pa Yen Jung in southern Huangchung. The time of their arrival in Kansu is unknown, but certainly they lived in that region at the end of the Yuan because two of their chiefs had already surrendered to the Ming in 1370, and received the office of t'u-ssu. The Salars live in thirteen groups called *kong.* The four upper and the four lower groups are called the eight inside Salar *kong* and are controlled by their t'u-ssu. The remaining five groups, called the outside Salar *kong,* are controlled by the subprefecture of Pa Yen Jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). Han Pao-yuan, t'u-ssu of the four upper Salar groups, lives with his subjects in the region of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Han. Han Sha-pa, t'u-ssu of the four lower Salar groups, inhabits the region east of Hsun Hua. His subjects adopted the surname of Ma (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Both t'u-ssu are the founders of the two Salar groups. The Salars profess Islam, but all over the country among their neighbors are many Chinese Mohammedans.

Wahhabism, a sect founded by Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab who died in 1787, aimed at the revival of the primitive orthodoxy of Islam and the abolition of the innovations contrary to the Sunni. He reacted violently against, at that time, the more and more popular cult of the Saints, Prophets, and the Graves.[85]

It happened that in 1762 a Mohammedan from Anting in Kansu, called Ma Ming-hsin, arrived back in Hsun Hua from a pilgrimage (to Mecca?). On his way he had been captivated by the violent discussions, at that time in full swing, relating to the new sect of the

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[85] Henri Masse, *L'Is[illegible]n*, 208–209, Paris, Armand Colin, 1930.

175x
795
579
648

Wahhabits, and had witnessed the fanaticism and the successes reaped by its promoters. He was enthusiastic about the idea of a return to the original orthodoxy. On his arrival, he posed in the Hsun Hua community as the possessor of the genuine doctrine and the champion of the religion founded by Mohammed and his companions. In the services in the mosques he urged the recitation of prayers with a loud voice, for it was the rite practiced in the new sect. It tremendously shocked the other Mohammedan communities, used to reciting the texts in a low voice, so that they accused the disturbers of the religion to the officials. The Salar, Su Forty-three, with other Salars, invited Ma Ming-hsin as teacher and head of all the Mohammedan communities of Hsun Hua. Bitter discussions arose between [798] the two groups, and forty adherents of the old religion were killed. An accusation was dispatched to the governor in Lanchow, who immediately sent two military officials with their troops to Hsun Hua to quell the revolt. However, the new religious group had already grown so fast and become so numerous, that Su Forty-three was able to beat the troops, kill the officials, and occupy the city of Ho Chou. New troops which arrived did not dare go to Ho Chou and they garrisoned in Ti-tao. Then the new religious rebels ran to Lanchow. They defeated the 800 poor troops of Lanchow, besieged the city, occupied the western corner of the city, and broke up the bridge over the Yellow River. New troops came from Kanchow and Szechwan. In the meantime, the officials of Anting had captured Ma Ming-hsin, the fomenter of the revolt in the city and sent him to the prison of Lanchow. The rebels requested their leader. From upon the city wall, the official made him exhort the rebels to keep quiet and return home. It did not work. Then Ma Ming-hsin was killed with his son.

Just at that time T'u-ssu Lu Fan, from Lien Ch'eng, had arrived with 300 Monguor troops and was attacked by the rebels. His troops were nearly all killed and the t'u-ssu was wounded. Then the rebels retired to the nearby Hua Lin mountains and prepared entrenchments. General A Kuei was called from Szechwan to quell the revolt. The army dared not attack the fanatic rebels in the mountains. The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu, leading his Salar Mohammedan troops of the old religion, was first to attack and enter the mountains. He was very successful. Later he recovered the city of Ho Chou. More troops arrived from Szechwan and Mongol troops from Alashan. In the mountainous country they administered a crushing defeat to the rebels who fled to the Hua Lin temple. It was burned down with the rebels inside. Few escaped, among them Su Forty-three, who was captured and killed. The revolt was quelled. Then followed the murdering of the entire families of hundreds of the adherents to the sect, forbidden to pray with a loud voice, to collect money and alms, etc.

[P.64(A)]

Where were the Monguor t'u-ssu during the revolt? 175x

The defeat of the troops of T'u-ssu Lu Fan has been 703
related. He was rewarded later by the honor of wear- 624
ing the double peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42:
57).

The five outer Salar groups, adherents of the new 175x
religion, inhabited Pa Yen Jung situated south of Nien- 648 ●
pei. The danger of inroads on and the plundering of [795]
these groups had to be forestalled. Lu Chen-hsien,
member of the t'u-ssu clan, guarded with the troops
the region of Hsiang T'ang and Huei Ho Tung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 60).

T'u-ssu Kan San Yuen-pao guarded the city of Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Chou Lin guarded the passes of Ch'i Shih near Pa Yen Jung and Feng T'ai Shan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51). T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the city of Nienpei and was later called to Pa Yen Jung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai helped guard the city of Ti-tao
in East Kansu with 200 Monguor troops (*Annals* of
Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the
Hsiao Hsia pass near Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42:
37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu who had fought in Lan- [703]
chow and recovered Ho Chou, was rewarded by the
honor to wear the Blue Plume or Crow feather, and
received the button of the second degree, worn on the
cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

The Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Lanchow and was rewarded with the same honor as the former Salar t'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*).

Huangchung had been spared from inroads and devastation.

YEN CH'A HUI REVOLT

After the death of Ma Ming-hsin in Lanchow in 175x
1781, T'ien Wu, a fanatic *ahong*, leader of the new sect 795
in Fu Ch'iang in East Kansu, was proclaimed chief of 648
the new sect. At that time the Chinese officials were 579
brutally murdering the entire families of the rebels, and 798
rumors were spread that all the Mohammedans of the
old and new sects were to be killed. Already in 1782,
in Shih Feng Pao, in the T'ung Wei district, T'ien Wu
had started digging entrenchments and moving the
wives and children to strongholds in the mountains,
weapons had been prepared and flags, etc. Around
Ku Yuen and Fu Ch'iang encounters continued unabated between the army and the rebels, who grew
stronger and stronger by the accrual of countless adherents of the old sect. In 1784 T'ien Wu was wounded
in a fight in Fu Ch'iang and died. The rebels, beaten
in many encounters, fled to the Shin Feng Pao mountains where they finally were exterminated, and 3,000
wives and children brutally murdered. The revolt
was quelled.

During the revolt T'u-ssu Lu Fan had helped guard 175x
the city of Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*) and 579

T'u-ssu Lu yin, member of the Lu clan, guarded the 175x
Yang-chia temple region (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 58). 579

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuan guarded the Ping Ku pass near Lien Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51).

T'u-ssu Ch'i T'iao-yuen guarded the Lu P'an Shan region and was later called to guard Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

T'u-ssu Li Shih-t'ai with 300 Monguors guarded the Kuan Miao T'an in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Huai-peh guarded the Ping Ku pass with Kan T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yu-fan guarded the bridge in Lanchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu fought in Fu Ch'iang and was rewarded with the title of lieutenant colonel (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu fought in Fu Ch'iang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*).

Huangchung again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu for the second time had to bear the brunt of the revolt. The country and the people suffered tremendously for the officials were determined to annihilate completely the adherents of the sect and their families.[96]

NEW SECT IN HSINING

However, the sect of the new religion was already 179x
rooted too deep in the minds of the Kansu Moham- 795
medans to get rid of it by crushing two revolts and
killing many people. In 1789 a small group of ad-
herents to the sect were discovered among the Moham-
medans in Hsining by the officials. They held meet-
ings and created disturbances in the Mohammedan
colony. They were captured, a number of them killed [798]
with their families, the rest exiled to Ho Lun Chiang
by order of the emperor.[97]

The sect of the White Lotus religion had already 175x
spread in five provinces in 1796. It would still last 795
seven years before it would be quelled. In 1798 a 579
strong group of 12,000 rebels invaded East Kansu in 648
the third moon, parted in two groups and started devastating and plundering the country. All available troops were ordered to come to the rescue of the Shensi and Kansu troops. T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun went with 300 Monguor soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The Salar T'u-ssu Han Yu went with his soldiers of the old religion (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). Salar T'u-ssu Han Kuang-tsu also went to the rescue and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*a*). The remaining t'u-ssu protected the borders of Huangchung along the Yellow River.

In the seventh moon of 1800 the country was at 175x
peace (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 59–61). Huangchung 579

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[96] Both revolts are summarized according to *Annals* of Kansu 47: 1-3. J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 311-327, sq., Amsterdam, Muller, 1903. Commandant d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, 229, sq., Paris, Leroux, 1911.

[97] J. J. M. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 327.

lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of 175^{x}
Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien 795
Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. 579
This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same
provinces of the empire.

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh re- 175^{x}
volted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 648
the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the
well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular
troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were
moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which
threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had
not been called to come to the rescue of the army.
However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed
the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button [703]
of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu
42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the
Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan upris-
ing broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 [579]
and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin.

REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS. 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of 175^{x}
Kansu **47**: 4 sq. 795

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in 579
the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East 628
Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for
the revolt is not noted.

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

On the other hand, the few demoralized Chinese 175x
troops, unable to cope with the situation, tried only to 105
defend the few cities and strongholds, barricading themselves behind the walls, looking at the destruction wrought around them. Their forces were too feeble to pursue mighty bands of invaders. They were afraid to enter into the barren unknown Mongolian and Tibetan countries, exposed to ambushes of enemies, to lack of food and provisions, and to extermination. The defenders of the cities had little or no communications between them as the country was too extensive. They did not muster their scattered forces to fight in pitched battles and liked better to take it easy behind the fortified walls.

All the imperial orders issued to the officers during 175x
the Ming time, as will also be read in the second section 648 ●
of the Chronicles, enjoined them to obey their superior 105
officers and not to act independently; to send messengers to keep contact with each other; to muster troops and fight in pitched battles; not to be lazy, sitting with a wait-and-see attitude behind fortified walls; and always with threats of severe punishment for high as well as for low officers, who did not comply with the orders.

Very seldom was a new strong army sent to save a critical situation. When this happened the invaders fled, but they returned after the departure of the troops.

In these circumstances it is easy to understand that a lot of abuses must have existed among the troops garrisoned for long times in the frontier regions.

The imperial orders constantly enjoined the officers not to mix with the affairs of the civil administration, not to oppress the people, or impose taxes, exactions, etc. The people during the Ming dynasty suffered during two centuries from the inroads of barbarians, the oppression of the troops, and the maladministration of a dynasty becoming more and more effete.

In the Ch'ing dynasty the invasions of Mongols subsided a little until 1723, when bLo-bzang tan-chin launched his terrible revolt which might have caused the loss of Huangchung. Fortunately it was quelled with troops of Szechwan commanded by chiefs equal to the situation.

Then the revolts of the Mohammedans, more ruthless than those of the Mongols wrought terrible havoc, and a tremendous number of Chinese, as well as Mohammedans, lost their lives.

The Monguors had a hard time during these centuries, but remained faithful defenders of the empire.

ssu, to which was attached a lama chaplain, who every 175x
day offered incense in the temple and also in the an- 114
cestor hall to the ancestors of the Lu family.

T'O HUAN, FOUNDING ANCESTOR OF THE CLAN

According to the Chronicles of the clan, T'o Huan is 175x
its founding ancestor. He was a member of the im- 614
perial family of the Yuan dynasty, with the title of [illegible]
Prince of An Ting, since 1313 (Section 1, Preface. Section 3, Biography of T'o Huan, *Yuan Shih,* Chapter 108, 3rd section 24, *27a–b*).

In 1368 the Ming emperor entered the capital of the Yuan, whose emperor had fled to Ying Ch'ang with the imperial family. T'o Huan, prevented from accompanying the emperor, arrived in Kansu in 1369. At the end of 1369 or the beginning of 1370, General Teng Yu was sent to invite him to see the emperor. He submitted to the Ming, and was ordered to muster his troops, and he followed General Su Ta in the war against K'uo-k'uo Timur, the last general of the Yuan. In 1375 he helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal). He was invited to court to receive the congratulations of the emperor, but on account of illness he could not obey the order. He died in 1376 (Section 3, biography of T'o Huan, Section 2 and beginning of Section 3, biography of Lu Yung ch'ang and letter of concubine Yang to the emperor).

His oldest son Ah-shih-t'u succeeded him, became blind, and died in 1377. His second son, Kung-pu shih-tieh succeeded in 1378, and is recorded as the ancestor of the second generation. He fought brigands in 1403 and followed the expedition of the emperor against Ah lu t'ai in 1410, and died on the field of battle.

His oldest son Shih-chia succeeded him in 1412 and is recorded as the ancestor of the third generation, with the name Hsien. In 1414 he received from the emperor the name Lu. From that time on, the clan was called Lu clan (T'o Huan was a Mongol belonging to the Borjigin clan of Chingis, he had no family name).

The Chronicle records the history of T'o Huan, the founding ancestor of the clan, and that of the ancestors who succeeded him as chiefs of the clans. It does not pay attention to the other t'u-ssu of the clan, or to groups which branched off, even by sons of T'o Huan, or by members of the principal or lateral branches.

T'o Huan is recorded as having been appointed by [648 ●
the emperor chief of his tribes and controller of the 624]
territory he occupied during the Yuan time.

The *Annals* of P'ing Fan (1739) record only the [114]
title of P'ing-chang cheng-shih of T'o Huan, without noting the title, Prince of An Ting, granted to him by the emperor, although this important fact should have been known among the Lu Monguors. Lu Kuang-tsu, renowned scholar, had already composed his Chronicles between 1602 and 1607 in Lien Ch'eng. The *Annals* bypass Ah-shih-t'u who had succeeded T'o Huan in 1377 and died in the same year, and record Kung-

[P.71(B)] [Text continues on P.72(B)]

175x
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In the texts of the imperial orders sent to the t'u-ssu concerning the way of waging war with the Mongol brigands who incessantly for five centuries invaded and plundered the frontiers, abducted and killed people, are encountered continually the words "mobilize the troops and kill the brigands," "exterminate the brigands," "you are capable of doing that," "intercept their roads and kill them," "block their ways and kill them," etc., etc. The rage against and the exasperation caused by the Mongol brigands were uppermost in the minds of the Chinese officials and the frontier people.

It is a pity that the family chronicles of the other t'u-ssu clans are lost, so we miss the texts of the imperial pronouncements at official burials with the three sacrifices and the imperial oration read before the coffin by a high official delegated by the emperor. The first sacrifice was offered and the oration read on the day [703] of the burial. On the anniversary of the death was offered the second sacrifice and there was read a second oration. After the third year, at the end of the mourning period, followed the last sacrifice and the oration. These orations consisted in the glorification of the deceased, of his virtues and merits, and described what the emperor considered to be the virtues and the merits of the officials he used. They always ended with stereotype phrase, "in case your spirits are still conscious and capable to enjoy and breathe the fragrancy of the sacrifice, accept and enjoy it." This last courtesy of the emperor toward the meritorious t'u-ssu, read by a high official, in the presence of the entire clan, created a special atmosphere of devotion among the Monguors toward the emperor. The texts of these orations are always very interesting and instructive.

THE GLORY OF THE T'U-SSU CLANS OF HUANGCHUNG

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We have to close the study of the Huangchung Monguors with the list of the names of the Monguor t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle sacrificing their lives for the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties.

This is the most glorious page in the history of the Monguors.

DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In 1402 T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi
In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'i Tuan-chou
In 1410 T'u-ssu Lu Kung-pu-shih-tieh
In 1426 T'u-ssu Chou-yung
In 1511 T'u-ssu Li Ch'eng's son
In 1536 T'u-ssu Hsin Pao
In 1537 T'u-ssu Yeh Luan
In 1559 T'u-ssu Li Ming-mao
In 1586 T'u-ssu Na Wei-liang
In 1588 T'u-ssu Li Chih-hsien
T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih-kang
T'u-ssu Chao and Wu. With these two t'u-ssu 800 soldiers died.

[115(A)]

/The Monguors/

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leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

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[428]

The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

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When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N
*563 groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a
M double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese
614 official.
554 The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title
648 of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans,
175 who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-
*563 Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the
M seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original
614 Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned.
175 It is very likely that especially in the period from 1368 to 1723,
648 only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later
177 in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese
M or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clans-
[565] men and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his
*563 clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned,
M according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when
614 the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed
554 that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

423 The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his
N respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a
*563 chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his com-
M mand in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was
614 therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners.
565 Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of
554 slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Monguors/

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*563 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe
M they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining
144 region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they
174 were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives,
N meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants
*563 of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule
M of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical
• 648 record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu.
175 At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns
311 in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military
colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to
the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation
of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were
relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the
more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them
fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely
abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural,
depending upon where they are located.

N
*563 2. Patterns of living
a. Dwelling

M The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt
342 tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they
lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing
[351] south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has
mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables
M and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered
[343] at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside
the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the
side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where
grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The
M Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at
[231] night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules,
donkeys and horses.

M The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building
[592] against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the
[574] house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the
family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two
small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies
M the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort
[354] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up
[362] most of the room, and there is little furniture except some
wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N
*563 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest
M corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the
342 "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-
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